



THE NORTH BRIDGE AND THE BANK OF SCOTLAND (From a Drawing by Sir John Carr, finished in 1809)





GEORGE IV. BRIDGE

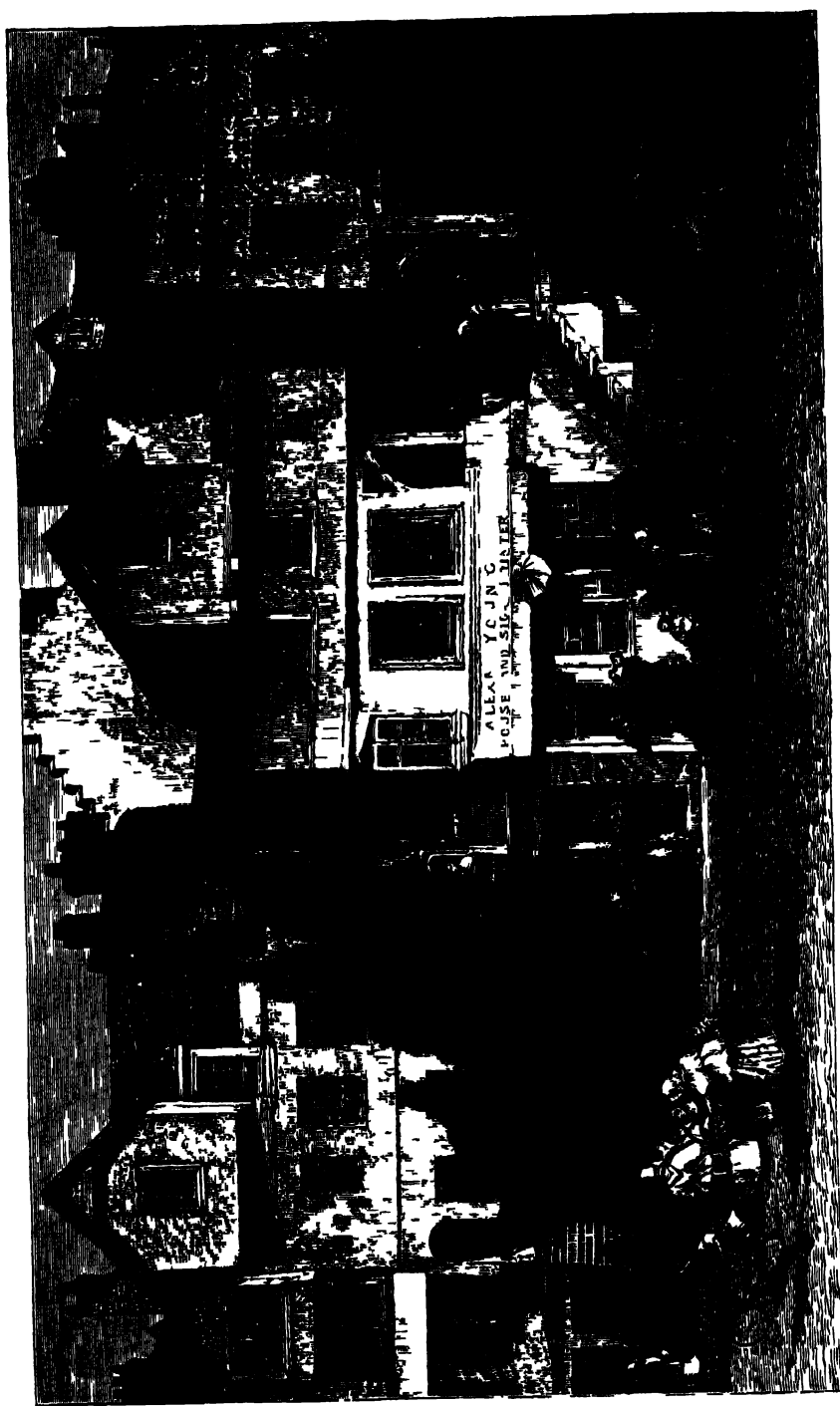






LORD COCKBURN STREET AND BACK OF THE ROYAL EXCHANGE.



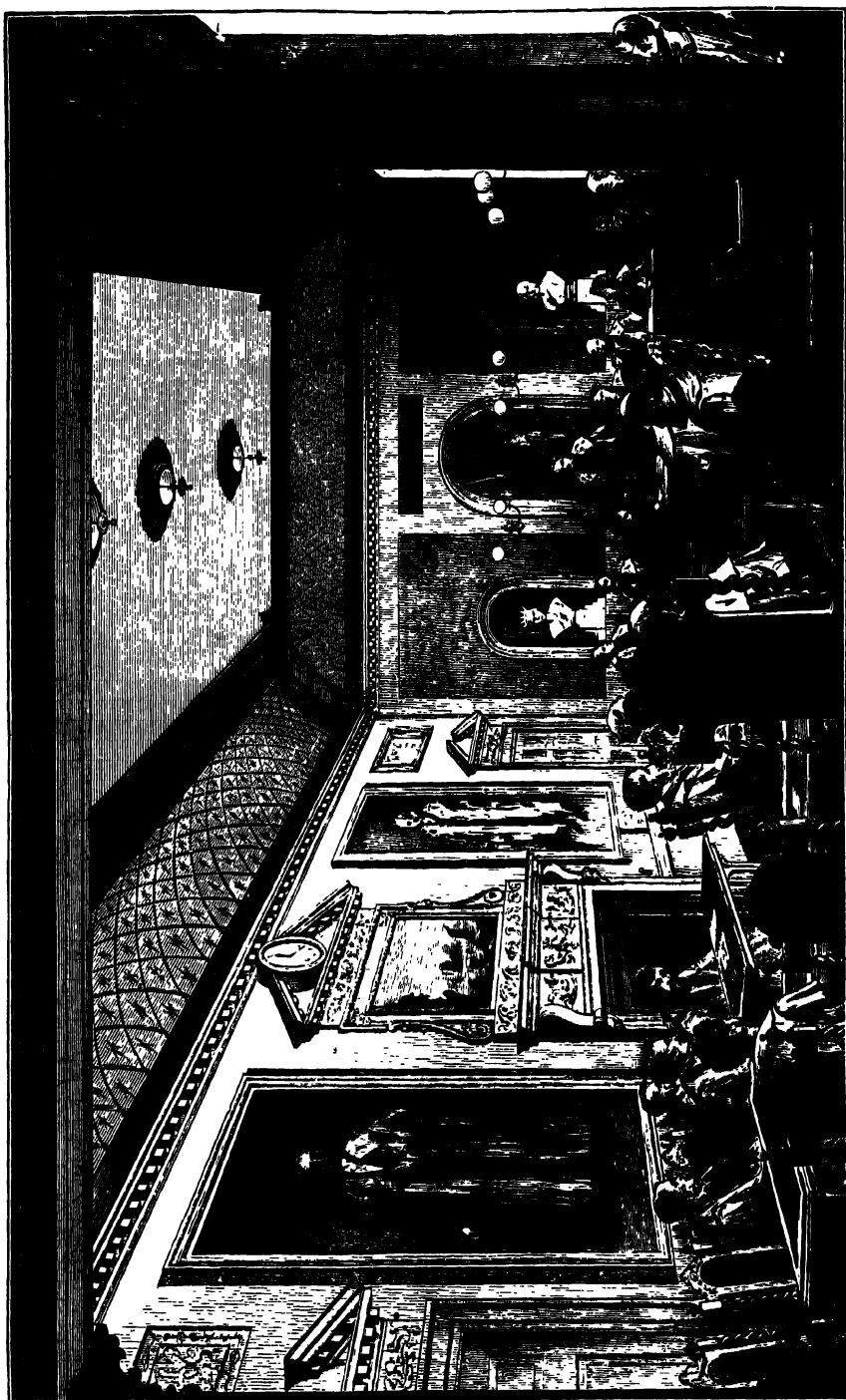


JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE *— from a Draw —* J. T. 414









THE TOWN COUNCIL CHAMBER. ROYAL EXCHANGE.



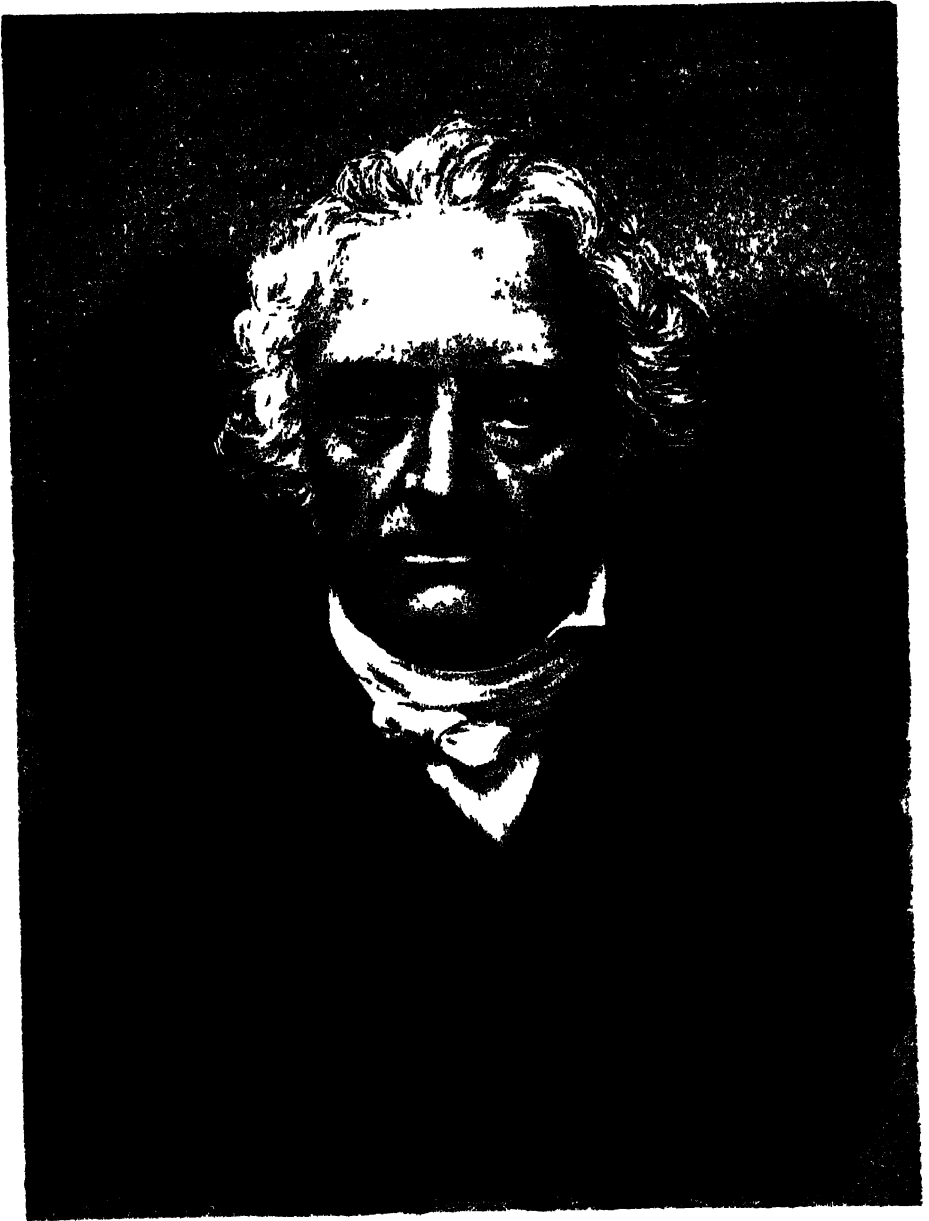




ROBERT S CANDLISH, D D

*(from a lithograph by John Moffat 25, Essex Street, Edinburgh)*

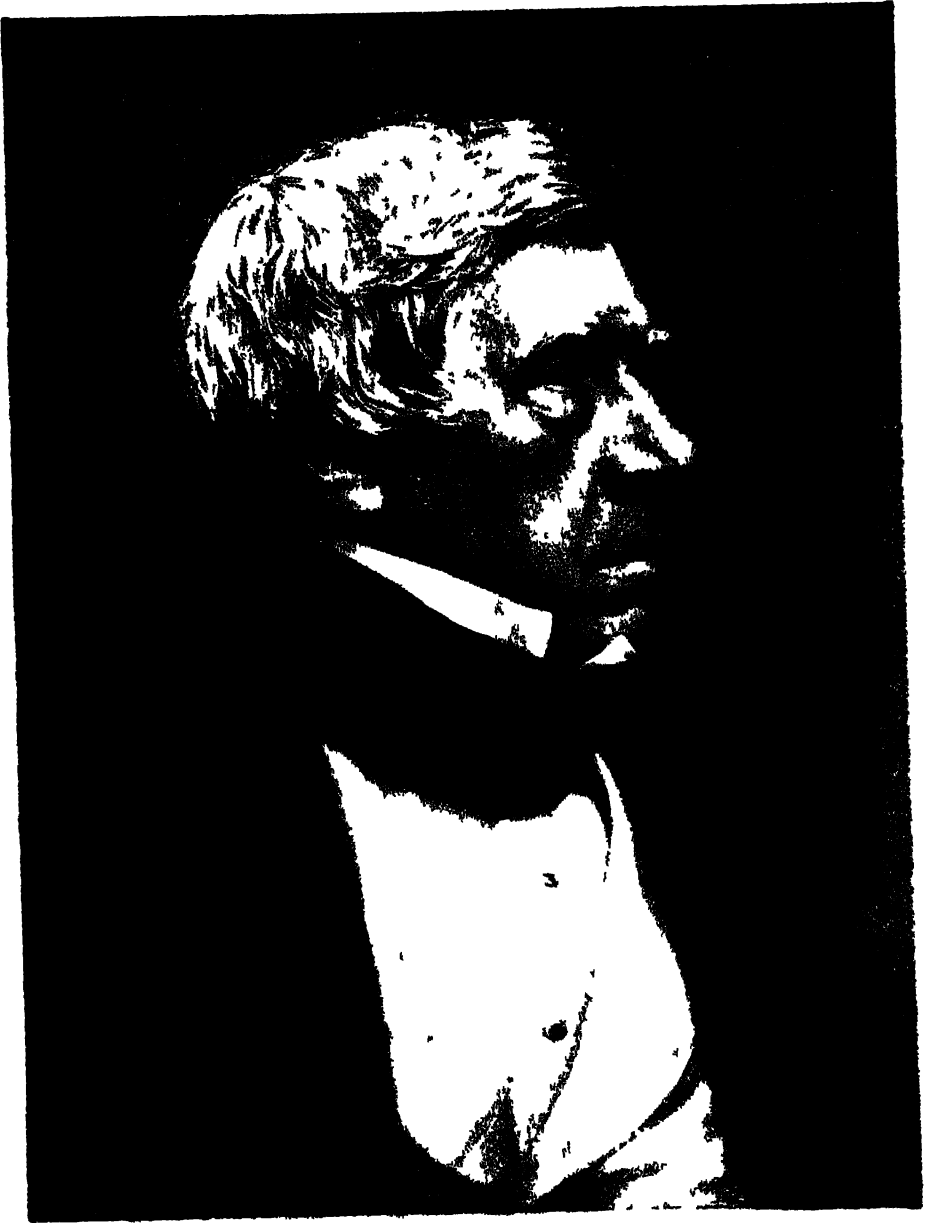




THOMAS CHALMERS, D D , LL D

*(From a Photograph by Mr J Horsburgh, 131 Princes Street Edinburgh)*





LORD BROUGHAM

*From a photograph by M. Chas. Hill for the London & W.*





SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.

*(from a painting by Sir H. Kneller)*







CASSELL'S

OLD AND NEW EDINBURGH:

*Its History, its People, and its Places.*

Illustrated by numerous Engravings.



*DIVISION II.*

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case with the High Street. The mansions in the diverging streets, narrow, steep, gloomy, and ill ventilated, became perilous abodes in times of fire or pestilence.

Those who dwelt in the upper storeys avoided the toil of descending the steep wheel stairs that led to the street, and the entire *debris* of the household was flung from the windows, regardless of who or what might be below, especially after nightfall, hence the cries of 'Haud your hand!' "Get

lanterns, were ordered to be hung up, by such persons and in such places as the magistrates should appoint, there to continue burning for the space of four hours—from five till nine o'clock in the evening.

In consequence of the great assiduity of the Provost (Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie), the Town Council added to his annual allowance £100 Scots for his clothing and spicery, with two hogs heads of wine for his greater state, and soon after



THE OLD IRON CHURCH (From an Engraving in Arnold's *History of Edinburgh*.)

out of the gut or "*Ga'les Leau*" a shout copied from the French were incessant. Another source of filth and annoyance was the circumstance that every inhabitant had his own dunghill in the street opposite his own door while the thorough fares were further encumbered and encroached upon by outside stone stairs many of which still remain. Under these were kept swine which were allowed to roam the streets (as in old Paris) and act the part of scavengers and be alternately the pets and the terror of the children.

By Acts of Council 15th October, 1553-5 the mounds of household refuse were ordained to be removed, the swine to be prevented from being a pest in the streets, in which *bonnets* or

another Act was passed, ordaining that the (male) servants of the inhabitants should attend him with lighted torches from the vespers or evening prayers to his own house.

But despite the Acts quoted the streets were not thoroughly cleared or cleaned for more than sixty years after William James VI, having celebrated his marriage with Anne of Denmark, on the 22nd October 1589 was about to return home, he wrote one of his characteristic epistles to the Provost, Alexander Clark of Balbirnie—"Here we are drinking and driving in the auld way," and adding, "*for God's sake see a things are richt at our hame-comin.*" James did not wish to be exposed in the eyes of his foreign attendants, and he alludes

especially to the removal of the numerous *middens*, the repair of the roads and streets, and also the expected hospitality of the city, as we find that soon after the inhabitants were assessed to support the queen and her retinue till Holyrood Palace was prepared to receive her. They were also compelled to defray their proportion of the expense of his return.

Five years before this, in 1584, to prevent the incessant broils and riots that took place in High Street and elsewhere at night, it was enacted that by ten o'clock forty strokes should be given on the great bell, after which any person found abroad was to be imprisoned during the magistrates' pleasure, and fined forty shillings Scots; while for the better regulation of the nightly watch the city was divided into thirty quarters, over each of which the magistrates appointed two commanders, one a merchant, the other a craftsman, as also an officer to summon the citizens occasionally to take into consideration the affairs connected with these several divisions. (Council Register.)

And now to glance briefly at the *tulsies*, or combats, for so were they named of old, of which the High Street has been the scene.

Apart from the famous brawl named "Cleanse the Causeway," already described, and that in which the Laird of Stainhouse fell with the French in 1560, a considerable amount of blood has been shed in this old thoroughfare.

After the battle of Melrose, in 1526, there ensued a deadly feud between the border clans of Scott and Kerr, which culminated in the slaughter of Sir Walter Scott of Braxholm and Buccleuch, by the Kerrs, in October, 1551, in the High Street.

"Bards long shall tell  
How Lord Walter fell!  
When startled burghers fled afar  
The furies of the Border war,  
When the streets of High Dunedin  
Saw lances gleam and falchions redden,  
And heard the 'logan's deadly yell—  
Then the chief of Braxholm fell!"

Nor was the feud between these two families stanch'd till forty-five years later, when the chiefs of both paraded the High Street with their followers amicably, but it was expected their first meeting would decide their quarrel.

On the 24th of November, 1567, about two in the afternoon, the Laird of Airth and Sir John Wemyss of that ilk "met upon the Hie Gait of Edinburgh," according to Birrel, "and they and their followers fought a bloody skirmish, when many were hurt on both sides by shot of pistol."

On this the Privy Council issued, but in vain,

an edict against the wearing of culverins, daggs, pistols, or other "firewerks."

The latter seem to have been adopted or in use earlier in Scotland than in the sister kingdom. At the raid of the Redswire, the English archers were routed by the volleys of the Scottish hackbuttiars; and here we find, as the author of "Domestic Annals" notes, "that sword and buckler were at this time (1567) the ordinary gear of gallant men in England—a comparatively harmless furnishing; but we see that small fire-arms were used in Scotland."

On the 7th December, three years after this, the Hoppringles and Elliots chanced to encounter in the same place—hostile parties knew each other well then by their badges, livery, and banners—and a terrible slaughter would have ensued had not the armed citizens, according to the "Diurnal of Occurrences," *redd—i.e.*, separated—them by main force.

A feud, which for many years disturbed the upper valley of the Tweed, resulted in a *tulzie* in the streets which is not without some picturesque details. It was occasioned by the slaughter of Veitch of Dawick's son, in June, 1590, by or through James Tweedie of Drummelzier, to revenge which, James Veitch younger of Synton, and Andrew Veitch, brother of the Laird of Tourhope, slew John Tweedie, tutor of Drummelzier and Burgess of Edinburgh, as he walked in the public streets. Too much blood had been shed now for the matter to end there.

The Veitches were arrested, but the Laird of Dawick came to the rescue with 10,000 merks' bail, and their liberation was ordered by the king; but they were barely free before they effected the slaughter of James Geddes of Glenhegden, head or chief of his family, with whom they, too, were at feud; and the recital of this crime, as given in the "Privy Council Record," affords a curious insight into the *modus operandi* of a daylight brawl in the streets at that time. We modernise it thus:—

James Geddes, being in Edinburgh for the space of some eight days, openly and publicly met almost daily in the High Street, the Laird of Drummelzier. The latter, fearing an attack, albeit that Geddes was always alone, planted spies and retainers about the house in which he lived and other places to which he was in the habit of repairing. It chanced that on the 29th of December, 1592, James Geddes being in the Cowgate, getting his horse shod at the booth of David Lindsay, and being altogether careless of his safety, Drummelzier was informed of his whereabouts, and dividing all

his own friends and servants into two armed parties, set forth on slaughter intent.

He directed his brothers John and Robert Tweedie, Porteous of Hawkshaw, Crichton of Quarter, and others, to Conn's Close, which was directly opposite to the smith's booth; while he, accompanied by John and Adam Tweedie, sons of the Gudeman of Dura, passed to the Kirk (of Field) Wynd, a little to the westward of the booth, to cut off the victim if he hewed a way to escape; but as he was seen standing at the booth door with his back to them, they shot him down with their pistols in cold blood, and left him lying dead on the spot.

For this the Tweedies were imprisoned in the Castle; but they contrived to compromise the matter with the king, making many fair promises; yet when he was resident at St. James's, in 1611, he heard that the feud and the fighting in Upper Tweeddale were as bitter as ever.

On the 19th of January, 1594, a sharp tulzie, or combat, ensued in the High Street between the Earl of Montrose, Sir James Sandilands, and others. To explain the cause of this we must refer to Calderwood, who tells us that on the 13th of February, in the preceding year, John Graham of Halyards, a Lord of Session (a kinsman of Montrose), was passing down Leith Wynd, attended by three or four score of armed men for his protection, when Sir James Sandilands, accompanied by his friend Ludovic Duke of Lennox, with an armed company, met him. As they had recently been in dispute before the Court about some Temple lands, Graham thought he was about to be attacked, and prepared to make resistance. The duke told him to proceed on his journey, and that no one would molest him; but the advice was barely given when some stray shots were fired by the party of the judge, who was at once attacked, and fell wounded. He was borne bleeding into an adjacent house, whither a French boy, page to Sir Alexander Stewart, a friend of Sandilands, followed, and plunged a dagger into him, thus ending a lawsuit according to the taste of the age.

Hence it was that when, in the following year, John Earl of Montrose—a noble then about fifty years old, who had been chancellor of the jury that condemned the Regent Morton, and moreover was Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom—met Sir James Sandilands in the High Street, he deemed it his duty to avenge the death of the Laird of Halyards. On the first arrival of the earl in Edinburgh Sir James had been strongly recommended by his friends to quit it, as his enemies were too strong for him; but instead of doing so he desired

the aid and assistance of all his kinsmen and friends, who joined him forthwith, and the two parties meeting on the 19th of January, near the Salt Trøn, a general attack with swords and hackbuts began. One account states that John, Master of Montrose (and father of the great Marquis), first began the fray; another that it was begun by Sir James Sandilands, who was cut down and severely wounded by more than one musket-shot, and would have been slain outright but for the valour of a friend named Captain Lockhart. The Lord Chancellor was in great peril, for the combat was waged furiously about him, and, according to the "Historie of King James the Sext," he was driven back fighting "to the College of Justice (*i.e.*, the Tolbooth). The magistrates of the town with fencible weapons separatit the parties for that time; and the greatest skaith Sir James gat; on his party, for he himself was left for dead, and a cousin-german of his, callit Crawford of Kerse, was slain, and many hurt." On the side of the earl only one was killed, but many were wounded.

On the 17th of June, 1605, there was fought in the High Street a combat between the Lairds of Edzell and Pittarrow, with many followers on both sides. It lasted, says Balfour in his *Annales*, from nine at night till two next morning, with loss and many injuries. The Privy Council committed the leaders to prison.

The next tulzie of which we read arose from the following circumstance:—

Captain James Stewart (at one time Earl of Arran) having been slain in 1596 by Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, a natural son of the Regent Morton, who cut off his head at a place called Catslack, and carried it on a spear, "leaving his body to be devoured by dogs and swine;" this act was not allowed to pass unrevenged by the house of Ochiltree, to which the captain—who had been commander of the Royal Guard—belonged. But as at that time a man of rank in Scotland could not be treated as a malefactor for slaughter committed in pursuance of a feud, the offence was expiated by an assythemment. The king strove vainly to effect a reconciliation; but for years the Lords Ochiltree and Douglas (the latter of whom was created Lord Torthorwald in 1590 by James VI.) were at open variance.

It chanced that, on the 14th of July, 1608, Lord Torthorwald was walking in the High Street a little below the Cross, between six and seven in the morning, alone and unattended, when he suddenly met William Stewart, a nephew of the man he had slain. Unable to restrain the sudden rage that filled him, Stewart drew his sword, and ere

Torthorwald could defend himself, ran him through the body, and slew him on the spot.

Stewart fled from the city, and of him we hear no more; but the Privy Council met twice to consider what should be done now, for all the Douglas-esses were taking arms to attack the Stewarts of Ochiltree. Hence the Council issued imperative orders that the Earl of Morton, James Commendator of Melrose, Sir George and Sir Archibald Douglas his uncles, William Douglas younger of Drumlanrig, Archibald Douglas of Tofts, Sir James Dundas of Arniston, and others, who were breathing vengeance, should keep within the doors of their dwellings, orders to the same effect being issued to Lord Ochiltree and all his friends.

"There is a remarkable connection of murders recalled by this shocking transaction," says a historian. "Not only do we ascend to Torthorwald's slaughter of Stewart in 1596, and Stewart's deadly prosecution of Morton to the scaffold in 1581; but William Stewart was the son of Sir William Stewart who was slain by the Earl of Bothwell in the Blackfriars Wynd in 1588."

A carved marble slab in the church of Holyrood, between two pillars on the north side, still marks the grave of the first lord, who took his title from the lonely tower of Torthorwald on the green brae, between Lockerbie and Dumfries. It marks also the grave of his wife, Elizabeth Carlyle of that ilk, and bears the arms of the house of Douglas, quartered with those of Carlyle and Torthorwald, namely, beneath a *chief* charged with three pellets, a saltire proper, and the crest, a star, with the inscription:—

"Heir Iyis ye nobil and poten Lord James Douglas, Lord of Cairlell and Torthorall, vha married Daime Elizabeth Cairlell, air and heretrix yalof; vha vas slaine in Edinburghe ye xliiii. day of Ivly, in ye zeier of God 1608—was slain in 48 ze. L. I. D. E. C."

The guides often read this epitaph to visitors to the Abbey; but few know the series of tragedies of which that slab is the closing record.

In the year 1705, Archibald Houston, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, was slain in the High Street. As factor for the estate of Braid, the property of his nephew, he had incurred the anger of Kennedy of Auchtyfardel, in Lanarkshire, by failing to pay some portion of Bishop's rents, and Houston had been "put to the horn" for this debt. On the 20th March, 1705, Kennedy and his two sons left their residence in the Castle Hill, to go to the usual promenade of the time, the vicinity of the Cross. They met Houston, and used violent language, to which he was not slow in retorting. Then Gilbert Kennedy, Auchtyfardel's son, smote him on the

face, while the idlers flocked around them. Blows with a cane were exchanged, on which Gilbert Kennedy drew his sword, and, running Houston through the body, gave him a wound of which he soon died. He was outlawed, but in time returned home, and succeeded to his father's estate. According to Wodrow's "Analecta," he became morbidly pious, and having exasperated thereby a servant maid, she gave him some arsenic with his breakfast of bread-and-milk, in 1730, and but for the aid of a physician would have avenged the slaughter of Houston near the Market Cross in 1705.

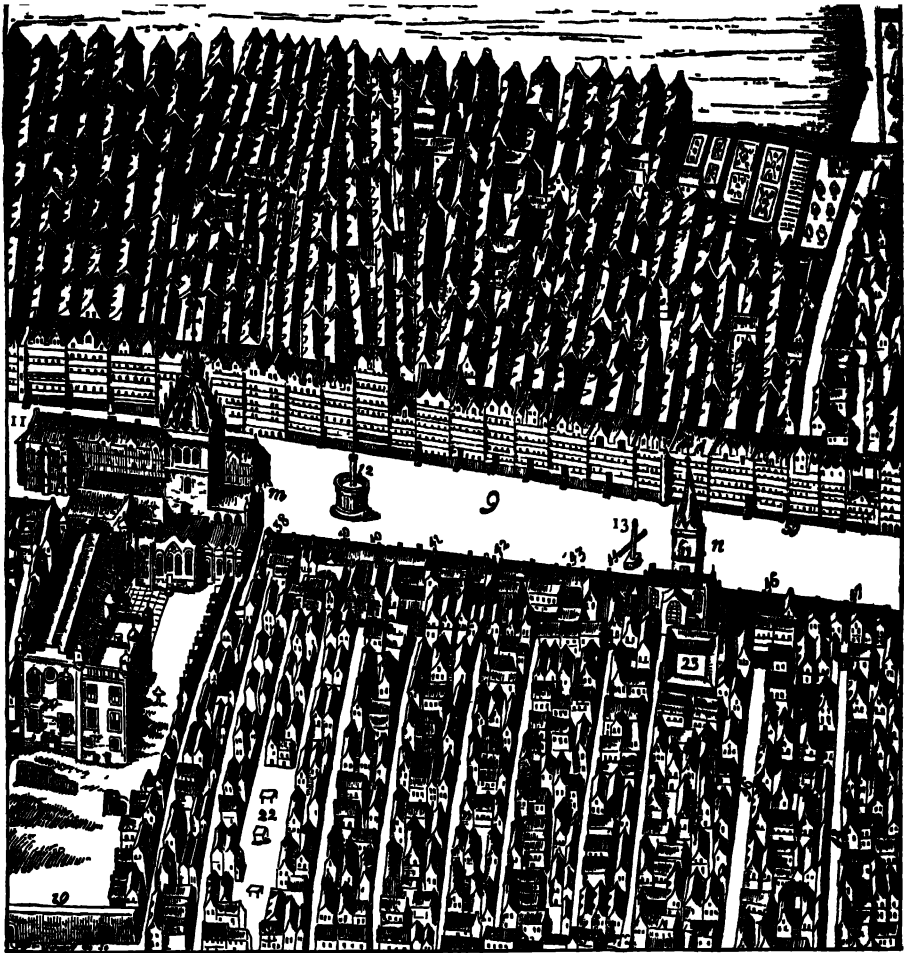
One of the last brawls in which swords were drawn in the High Street occurred in the same year, when under strong external professions of rigid Sabbath observance and morose sanctity of manner there prevailed much of secret debauchery, that broke forth at times. On the evening of the 2nd of February there had assembled a party in Edinburgh, whom drinking and excitement had so far carried away that nothing less than a dance in the open High Street would satisfy them. Among the party were Ensign Fleming of the Scots Brigade in the Dutch service, whose father, Sir James Fleming, Knight, had been Lord Provost in 1681; Thomas Barnet, a gentleman of the Horse Guards; and John Galbraith, son of a merchant in the city. The ten o'clock bell had been tolled in the Tron spire, to warn all good citizens home; and these gentlemen, with other bacchanals, were in full frolic at a part of the street where there was no light save such as might fall from the windows of the houses, when a sedan chair, attended by two footmen, one of whom bore a lantern, approached.

In the chair was no less a personage than David Earl of Leven, General of the Scottish Ordnance, and member of the Privy Council, proceeding on his upward way to the Castle of which he was governor. It was perilous work to meddle with such a person in those times, but the ensign and his friends were in too reckless a mood to think of consequences; so when Galbraith, in his dance reeled against one of the footmen, and was warned off with an imprecation, Fleming and his friend of the Guards said, "It would be brave sport to overturn the sedan in the mud." At once they assailed the earl's servants, and smashed the lantern. His lordship spoke indignantly from his chair; then drawing his sword, Fleming plunged it into one of the footmen; but he and the others were overpowered and captured by the spectators.

The young "rufflers," on learning the rank of the man they had insulted, were naturally greatly alarmed, and Fleming dreaded the loss of his com-

mission, though in a foreign army. After suffering a month's imprisonment, they were glad to profess their sorrow publicly, on their knees before the

dwelling-house, about eight in the evening, accompanied by her orphan granddaughter, then fourteen years of age, a young citizen named William Geddes



PLAN OF EDINBURGH, FROM ST GILES'S TO HACKERSTON'S WYND. (After Gordon of Rothemay)

9, The High Street; 11, The Tolbooth; 12, The High Cross or Market Cross; 13, The Iron; 19, Meal Market; 20, The Parliament House; 22, The Fish Market; 23, The Flesh Market; 38, S Monan's Wynd; 9, Fish Market Wynd; 40, Borthwick's Wynd; 41, Conn's Close; 42, Bell's Wynd; 43, Steven Law's Close; 44, Peebles Wynd; 45, Marin's Wynd; 46, Nuldry's Wynd; 47, Dickson's Close; 48, The Blackfriars Wynd; 57, Hackerston's Wynd; 58, The Great Kirk, or St Giles's Kirk; 59, The Tron Kirk.

Privy Council (as its record attests), and thus to obtain their liberty.

During the preceding century the abduction of women and girls was no uncommon thing in Edinburgh. On the 8th December, 1608, Margaret Stewart, a widow, complained to the Privy Council that, as she was walking home from her booth to her

beset her, with six men armed like himself, with swords, gauntlets, steel bonnets, and plate sleeves, and violently took the child from her, despite her tears and manifold supplications.

For this Geddes was outlawed; and soon after the Privy Council was compelled to renew some old enactment concerning *night-walkers*, in the



High Street and other thoroughfares, where they indulged in wild humours and committed heinous crimes. At this time—1611—the old system of lighting had ceased to exist; and after twilight the main street and those narrow steep alleys, like stone chasms, diverging from it, were all sunk in Cimmerian gloom, into which no man ventured to penetrate without his sword and lantern.

In 1631 the Town Council passed an Act forbidding all women to wear plaids over their heads or faces, under a penalty of £5 Scots and forfeiture of the garment. But so little attention was paid to the Act by ladies, some of whom were of rank, that the incensed Council in 1633 passed a new one, strictly enjoining all women, of *whatever quality*, not to wear a plaid under pain of corporal punishment, and granted liberty to any person to seize and appropriate the plaid as their own property.

As the fair offenders paid not the least attention to these ridiculous Acts, in 1636 the Provost, David Aikenhead, and the Council, passed a thundering enactment, that no females residing in their jurisdiction should either wear plaids or cover their faces with anything whatsoever, velvet masks not being uncommon among Scottish ladies in those days. Thus runs the ukase:—

“Forsaemikell as, notwithstanding of divers and sundrie laudabill actes and statutis, maid be the Provost, Baillies, and Counsall of this Burgh in former tymes, discharging that barbarous and uncivill habitte of women wearing plaids; zit, such has been the impudencie of monie of them, that

they have continewit the foresaid barbarous habitte, and has added thereto the wearing of their gownes and petticoates about their heads and faces, so that the same has become the ordinar habitte of all women within the cittie, to the general imputation of their sex, matrones not to be decerned from . . . and lowse living women, to their owne dishonour and scandal of the cittie; which the Provost, Baillies, and Counsall have taken into their serious consideration; thairfore, have statute and ordaynit, &c., that none, of whatsoever degrie or qualitie, presume, after this day, under the payne of escheitt of the said plaids, not onlie be such as shall be appoyntit for that effect, but be all persons who shall challenge the same. And that nae women weir their gownes or petticoates about their heads and faces, under the payne of ten pundis to be payit by women of qualitie for the first falt, twenty pundis for the second, and under such furdur paynes as sall pleas the Counsall to inflict upon them for the third falt; and under the payne of fourtie shillings to be payit be servandis and others of lower degrie for the first falt, five pundis for the second, and banishment from the cittie for the third falt; and ordaynes this present statute to be intimate throwh this Burgh be Sound of Drun, that nane pretend ignorance hereof.”

The Act fell pointless, as did another passed in 1648, against the coquettish Scottish *mantilla*, and till nearly the close of the last century a tartan plaid, or screen, was the common head-dress of women of the lower order in Edinburgh, as everywhere else in Scotland.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE HIGH STREET (*continued.*)

The City in 1598—Fynes Morison on the Manners of the Inhabitants—The “Lord” Provost of Edinburgh—Police of the City—Taylor the Water Post—Banquets at the Cross—The hard Case of the Earl of Traquair—A Visit of Hares—The Quack and his Acrobats—A Procession of Covenanters—Early Stages and Street Coaches—Sale of a Dancing-girl—Constables appointed in 1703—First Number of the *Courant*—The *Calendonian Mercury*—Carting away of the strata of Street Filth—Condition of old Houses.

BEFORE proceeding with the general history of the city, it may not be uninteresting to the reader if we quote the following description of the manners of the inhabitants in 1598, but to be taken under great reservation:—

“Myself,” says Morison, in his *Itinerary*, “was at a knight’s house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat with their heads covered with blew caps (*i.e.*, *bonnets*), the table being more than half furnished with great platters of porridge, each having (in them) a little piece of sodden meat; and when the table was

served, the servants sat down with us; but the upper mess, instead of porridge, had a pullet, with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery, or furniture of household stuff, but rather a rude neglect of both, though myself and my companion, sent from the Governor of Berwick, about Bordering affairs, were entertained in their best manner. The Scots living then in factions, used to keep many followers, and so consumed their revenue of victuals, living in some want of money. They vulgarly eat hearth cakes of oats, but in cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part

is bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens. They drink pure wines, not with sugar, as we English, yet at feasts they put comfits in the wine, after the French manner; but they had not our vintners' fraud to mix their wines.

"I did not see nor hear that they have any public inns, with signs hanging out; but the better sort of citizens brew ale (which will distemper a stranger's body), and then some citizens will entertain passengers upon acquaintance or entreaty (*i.e.*, introduction). Their bedsteads were then like cupboards in the wall (*i.e.*, box beds), to be opened and shut at pleasure, so we climbed up to our beds. They used but one sheet, open at the sides and top, but close at the feet. When passengers go to bed, their custom is to present them a sleeping cup of wine at parting. The country people and merchants used to drink largely, the gentlemen somewhat more sparingly; yet the very courtiers, by night-meetings and entertaining any strangers, used to drink healths, not without excess; and to speak the truth without offence, the excess of drinking was far greater among the Scots than the English.

"Myself being at the Court was invited by some gentlemen to supper, and being forewarned to fear this excess, would not promise to sup with them but upon condition that my inviter would be my protection from large drinking. . . . The husbandmen in Scotland, the servants, and almost all the country, did wear coarse cloth made at home, of grey or sky colour, and flat blew caps, very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour, or mingled black and blew. The gentlemen did wear English cloth or silk, or light stuffs, little or nothing adorned with silk lace, much less with silver or gold; and all followed the French fashion, especially at Court.

"Gentlewomen married did wear close upper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves, after the French manner; short cloaks like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands about their necks. The unmarried of all sorts (?) did go bareheaded, and wear short cloaks, with close linen sleeves on their arms, like the virgins of Germany. The inferior sort of citizens' wives and the women of the country did wear cloaks made of a coarse stuff, of two or three colours, in checker work, vulgarly called *plodon* (*i.e.*, tartan plaiding).

"To conclude, they would not at this time be attired after the English fashion in any sort; but the men, especially at Court, followed the French fashion; and the women, both in Court and city, as well in cloaks as naked heads and close

sleeves on the arms, and all other garments, follow the fashion of the women in Germany."

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of June, 1610, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh exhibited to his Council two gowns, one black, the other red, trimmed with sable, the gift of King James, as patterns of the robes to be worn by him and the bailies of the city; and in 1667 Charles II. gave Sir Alexander Ramsay, Provost in that year, a letter, stating that the chief magistrate of Edinburgh should have the same precedence in Scotland as the Mayor of London has in England, and that *no* other provost should have the title of "Lord Provost"—a privilege which has, however, since been modified.

The attention of King James, who never forgot the interests of his native city, was drawn in 1618 to two abuses in its police. Notwithstanding the warning given by the fire of 1584, it was still customary for "baxters and browsters" (*i.e.*, bakers and brewers) to keep huge stacks of heather, whins, and peats, in the very heart of the High Street and other thoroughfares, to the great hazard of all adjacent buildings, and many who were disposed to erect houses within the walls were deterred from doing so by the risks to be run; while, moreover, candle-makers and butchers were allowed to pursue their avocations within the city, to the disgust and annoyance of "civil and honest neighbours, and of the nobility and country people," who came in about their private affairs, and thus a royal proclamation was issued against these abuses. The idea of a cleaning department of police never occurred to the good folk of those days; hence, in the following year, the plan adopted was that each inhabitant should keep clean that part of each street before his own bounds.

In 1618 Edinburgh was visited by Taylor the Water Poet, and his description of it is as truthful as it is amusing:—"So, leaving the castle, as it is both defensive against any opposition and magnificent for lodging and receipt, I descended lower to the city, wherein I observed the fairest and goodliest street mine eyes ever beheld, for I did never see or hear of a street of that length (which is half a mile English from the castle to a fair port, which they call the Nether Bow); and from that port the street which they call the Kenny-gate (Canongate) is one quarter of a mile more, down to the king's palace, called Holyrood House; the buildings on each side of the way being all of squared stone, five, six, and seven storeys high, and many bye-lanes and closes on each side of the way, wherein are gentlemen's houses, much fairer than the buildings in the High Street, for in the High Street the merchants and tradesmen do dwell, but

the gentlemen's mansions and goodliest houses are obscurely founded in the aforesaid lanes. The walls are eight or ten feet thick, exceeding strong, not built for a day, a week, a month, or a year, but from antiquity to posterity—for many ages. There I found entertainment beyond my expectation or merit; and there is fish, flesh, bread, and fruit in such variety, that I think I may offenceless call it superfluity or satiety."

The "Penniless Pilgrim" came to Scotland in a more generous and appreciative mind than his countryman did, 150 years subsequently, and all he saw filled him with wonder, especially the mountains, to which he says, "Shooter's Hill, Gad's Hill, Highgate Hill, and Hampstead Hill, are but molehills."

Varied indeed have been the scenes witnessed in the High Street of Edinburgh. Among these we may mention a royal banquet and whimsical procession, formed by order of James VI., in 1587. Finding himself unable to subdue the seditious spirit of the ecclesiastics, whom he both feared and detested, he turned his attention to those personal quarrels and deadly feuds which had existed for ages among the nobles and landed gentry, in the hope to end them.

After much thought and preliminary negotiation, he invited the chiefs of all the contending parties to a royal entertainment in Holyrood, where he obtained a promise to bury and forget their feudal dissensions for ever. Thereafter, in the face of all the assembled citizens, he prevailed upon them to walk two by two, hand in hand, to the Market Cross, where a banquet of wines and sweetmeats was prepared for them, and where they all drank to each other in token of mutual friendship and future forgiveness. The populace testified their approbation by loud and repeated shouts of joy. "This reconciliation of the nobilitie and diverse of the gentry," says Balfour in his *Annales*, "was the gratest worke and happiest game the king had played in all his raigne heithertills;" but if his good offices did not eradicate the seeds of transmitted hate, they, at least for a time, smothered them.

The same annalist records the next banquet at the Cross in 1630. On the birth of a prince, afterwards Charles II., on the 29th of May, the Lord Lyon king-at-arms was dispatched by Charles from London, where he chanced to be, with orders to carry the news to Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on the 1st of June, and the loyal joy of the people burst forth with great effusiveness. The batteries of the Castle thundered forth a royal salute; bells rang and bonfires blazed, and a table

was spread in the High Street that extended half its entire length, from the Cross to the Tron, whereat the nobility, Privy Council, and Judges, sat down to dinner, the heralds in their tabards and the royal trumpeters being in attendance.

In that same street, a generation after, was seen, in his old age begging his bread from door to door, John Earl of Traquair, who, in 1635, had been Lord High Treasurer of Scotland and High Commissioner to the Parliament and General Assembly, one of the few Scottish nobles who protested against the surrender of King Charles to the English, but who was utterly ruined by Cromwell. A note to Scotstarvit's "Scottish Statesmen," records that "he died in anno 1659, in extreme poverty, on the Lord's day, and suddenly when taking a pipe of tobacco; and at his funeral had no mortcloth, but a black apron; nor towels, but dog's leashes belonging to some gentlemen that were present; and the grave being two foot shorter than his body, the assistants behaved to stay till the same was enlarged, and be buried."

"I saw him begging in the streets of Edinburgh," says another witness, James Fraser, minister of Kirkhill; "he was in an antique garb, wore a broad old hat, short cloak and panier breeches, and I contributed in my quarters in the Canongate towards his relief. The Master of Lovat, Culbockie (Fraser), Glenmoriston (Grant), and myself were there, and he received the piece of money from my hand as humbly and as thankfully as the poorest supplicant. It is said, that at a time he had not (money) to pay for cobbling his boots, and died in a poor cobbler's house."

And this luckless earl, so rancorously treated, was the lineal descendant of James Stuart the Black Knight of Lorne, and of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster.

Nicoll records in his curious diary that in the October of 1654 a vast number of hares came into the city, penetrating even to its populous and central parts, such as the Parliament Close and the High Street; and in the latter, a few years subsequently, 1662, we read in the *Chronicle of Fife* of a famous quack doctor setting up his public stage in the midst of that thoroughfare for the third time.

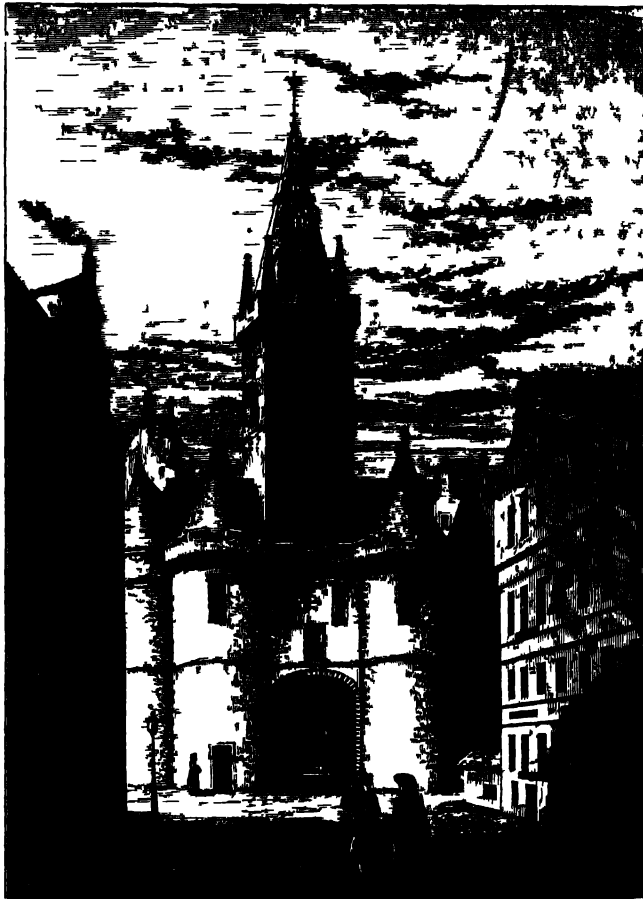
John Pontheus was a German, styling himself professor of music, and his *modus operandi* affords a curious illustration of the then state of medical science in Great Britain, and of what our forefathers deemed the requisites to a good physician. On the stage mentioned Pontheus had one person to play the fool, another to dance upon a tight rope, in order to gather and amuse

an audience. Then he began to vend his drugs at eightpence per packet. Nicoll admits that they were both good and real, and describes the antics of the assistants.

Upon a great rope, fixed from side to side of the street, a man descended upon his breast with

danced seven score times, without intermission, lifting himself and vaulting six quarter high above his own head and lighting directly upon the tow (rope) as punctually as if he had been dancing on the plain stones."

Four years after a different scene was witnessed



THE NETHER BOW PORT FROM THE CANONGATE (From an Etching by James Shene of R. Chislaw)

his arms 'stretched out like the wings of a fowl, to the admiration of many. Nicoll adds that the country surgeons and apothecaries, finding his drugs both cheap and good, came to Edinburgh from all parts of the realm and bought them for the purpose of retailing them at a profit. The antics and rope dancing were continued for many days with an agility and nimbleness 'admirable to the beholders, one of the dancers having

in the High Street when in 1666, after the battle of the Pentland Hills—a victory celebrated by the discharge of nearly as many guns from the Castle, as there were prisoners—the captives were marched to the Tolbooth. They were eighty in number, and these poor Covenanters were conveyed manacled in triumph by the victor, with trumpets sounding kettle drums beating, and banners displayed. And Crookshank records in

his history, that Andrew Murray, an aged Presbyterian minister, when he beheld the ferocious Sir Thomas Dalzell of Binns in his rusted head-piece, with his long white vow-beard which had never been profaned by steel since the execution of Charles I., riding at the head of his cavalier squadrons, who, flushed with recent victory, surrounded the prisoners with drawn rapiers and matches lighted; and when he heard the shouts of acclamation from the changeful mob, became so overpowered with grief at what he deemed the downfall for ever of "the covenanted Kirk of God," that he became ill, and expired.

In 1678 we find a glimpse of modern civilisation, when it was ordained that a passenger stage between Leith and Edinburgh should have a fixed place for receiving complaints, and for departure, between the heads of Niddry's and the Blackfriars Wynds, in the High Street. The fare to Leith for two or three persons, in summer, was to be 1s. sterling, or four persons 1s. 4d., the fare to the Palace 9d., and the same returning. Carriages had been proposed for this route as early as 1610, when Henry Anderson, a Pomeranian, contracted to run them at the charge of 2s. a head; but they seem to have been abandoned soon after. Hackney carriages, which had been adopted in London in the time of Charles I., did not become common in Scotland till after the Restoration, and almost the first use we hear of one being put to was when a duel took place, in 1667, between William Douglas of Whittingham and Sir John Home of Eccles, who was killed. With their seconds they proceeded in a hackney coach from the city to a lonely spot on the shore near Leith, where, after a few passes, Home was run through the body by Douglas, who was beheaded therefor.

The year 1678 saw the first attempt to start a stage from the High Street to Glasgow, when on the 6th of August a contract was entered into between the magistrates of that city and a merchant of Edinburgh, by which it was agreed that "the said William Hume shall have in readiness one sufficient strong coach, to run betwixt Edinburgh and Glasgow, to be drawn by six able horses; to leave Edinburgh ilk Monday morning, and return again—God willing—ilk Saturday night; the burgesses of Glasgow always to have a preference in the coach." As the undertaking was deemed arduous, and not to be accomplished without assistance, the said magistrates agreed to give Hume two hundred merks yearly for five years, whether passengers went or not, in consideration of his having actually received two years' premium in advance.

Even with this pecuniary aid the speculation proved unprofitable, and was abandoned, so little was the intercourse between place and place in those days. In the end of the 17th century—and for long after—it was necessary for persons desirous of proceeding from Edinburgh to London by land, to club for the use of a conveyance; and about the year 1686, Sir Robert Sibbald, His Majesty's physician, relates that "he was forced to come by sea, for he could not ride, by reason that the fluxion had fallen on his arme, and that he could not get companie to come in a coach." And people, before their departure, always made their wills, took solemn farewell of their friends, and asked to be prayed for in the churches.

The Edinburgh of 1687, the year before the Revolution, actually witnessed the sale of a dancing-girl, a transaction which ended in a debate before the Lords of the Privy Council.

On the 13th of January, in that year, as reported by Lord Fountainhall, Reid, a mountebank prosecuted Scott of Harden and his lady, "for stealing away from him a little girl called *The Tumbling Lassie*, that danced upon a stage, and produced a contract by which he had bought her from her mother for thirty pounds Scots (about £2 10s. sterling). But we have no slaves in Scotland," adds his lordship, "and mothers cannot sell their bairns; and physicians attested that the employment of tumbling would kill her, her joints were even now growing stiff, and she declined to return, though she was an apprentice, and could not run away from her master." Then some of the Privy Council in the canting spirit of the age, "quoted Moses' Law, that if a servant shelter himself with thee, against his master's cruelty, thou shalt not deliver him up." The Lords therefore *assoiated* (*i.e.*, acquitted) Harden, who had doubtless been moved only by humanity and compassion.

By the year 1700 the use of private carriages in the streets had increased so much that when the principal citizens went forth to meet the King's Commissioner, there were forty coaches, with 1,200 gentlemen on horseback, with their mounted lackeys.

In 1702, at 10 o'clock on the evening of the 12th March, Colonel Archibald Row of the Royal Scots Fusileers (now 21st Foot), arrived express in Edinburgh, to announce the death of William of Orange, at Kensington Palace, on the 8th of the same month. It consequently took three days and a half for this express to reach the Scottish capital, a day more than that required by Robert Cary, to bring intelligence of the death of Elizabeth, ninety-nine years before. Montcith in his "Theatre of

Mortality," 1704, gives us the long inscription on the tomb of the Colonel's wife, in the Greyfriars, beginning:—"Hic posita Reliquia Lectissima matrona, Jeanna Johnsona, conjugis Archibaldi Row, Regie Scloppetatorum Legionis," &c. She died in 1702.

On the 8th of March Anne was proclaimed Queen of Scotland, at the Cross, with all the usual solemnities.

In January, 1703, George Young, merchant in the High Street, was appointed by the Provost, Sir Hugh Cunningham, and the Council, to act as a constable, and along with several other citizens of respectable position, "oversee the manners and order of the burgh, and the inhabitants thereof;" and on the evening of the 24th, being Sunday, he went through some parts of the city to see "that the Lord's day, and the laws made for the observance thereof, were not violated." In the house of Marjory Thom, a vintner, this new official found, about 10 P.M., several companies in several rooms, and expostulated with her on the subject, after which, according to his own account, he quietly withdrew.

As he proceeded up the close to the High Street, he and his comrades were followed by Mr. Archibald Campbell, son of the Lord Niel Campbell, who warned him that if he reported Marjory's house to the magistrates, he would repent it. This affair ended in a kind of riot next day, in Young's shop, opposite the Town Guard House, and Campbell would probably have slain Young, had not the latter contrived to get hold of his sword and keep it till the Guard came, and the matter was brought before the Privy Council, when such was the influence of family and position, that the luckless Mr. Young was fined 400 merks, to be paid to Campbell, and to be imprisoned till the money was forthcoming.

On the 14th of February, 1705, appeared the first number of the *Edinburgh Courant*, a simple folio broadsheet, published by James Watson, in Craig's Close. Its place was afterwards taken by MacEwen's *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, in 1718, a permanent success to this day. It was a Whig print, and caused the starting of the now defunct *Caledonian Mercury*, in the Jacobite interest, a little quarto of two leaves.

According to the *Courant* of April 9th, 1724, the denizens of the High Street, and other greater thoroughfares, were startled by "a bank" of drums, beating up for recruits for the King of Prussia's

gigantic regiment of Grenadiers. Two guineas as bounty were offered, and many tall fellows were enlisted. The same regiment was recruited for in Edinburgh in 1728.

By the year 1730 great changes had been effected by the magistrates in enforcing cleanliness in the streets, and repressing the habit (accompanied by the terrible cry of *Gardes-Peau*) of throwing slops and rubbish from the windows. Sir James Dick of Prestonfield, the wise provost of 1679, transported away by personal energy a vast stratum of the refuse of ages, through which people had to make literal lances to their shops and house-doors and therewith enriched his lands by the margin of Duddingston Loch (Act of Parl. James VII., l., cap. 12), till their fertility is proverbial to the present day. But still there was no regular system of cleaning, and though Sir Alexander Brand, a well-known magistrate and manufacturer of Spanish leather gilt hangings, made some vigorous proposals on the subject, they were not adopted, till in 1730 the magistrates endeavoured by the strong arm of the law to repress the obnoxious habit of throwing household litter from the windows, a habit amusingly described by Smollett forty years after in his "Humphrey Clinker."

On the 6th of September, 1751, the fall of a great stone tenement on the north of the High Street, near the Cross, six storeys in height, with attics, sinking at once from top to bottom, and occasioning some loss of life, caused a general alarm in the city concerning the probable state of many of the more ancient and crumbling houses. A general survey was made, and many were condemned, and ordered to be taken down. But from 1707 Edinburgh stood singularly still till 1763, when the citizens seemed to wake from their apathetic lethargy. After that period the erection of adjuncts to the old city (to be referred to in their own localities) led to the general desertion of it by all people of position and wealth. Among the last who lingered there, and retained his mansion in the High Street, was James Fergusson of Pitfour, M.P., whose body was borne thence in October, 1820, for interment in the Greyfriars Churchyard.

In the March of 1820 the High Street was lighted with gas for the first time. "This has been done," says a print of the day, "by the introduction of a single cockspur light into each of the old globes, in which the old oil lamps were formerly suspended."

## CHAPTER XXIII.

THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

The Black Turnpike—Bitter Reception of Queen Mary—Lambie's Banner—Mary in the Black Turnpike—The House of Fentonbarns—Its Picturesque Appearance—The House of Basaundyne the Printer, 1574—"Shop," Land." Town House of Archbishop Spotswood—Its various Tenants—Sir Stuart Threpland—The Town-house of the Hendersons of Fordel—The Lodging of the Earls of Crawford—The First Shop of Allan Ramsay—The Religious Feeling of the People—Ancrum House—The First Shop of Constable and Co—Manners and Manners, Booksellers.

ON the south side of this great thoroughfare and immediately opposite to the City Guard House, stood the famous Black Turnpike. It occupied the ground westward of the Tron church, and now left vacant as the entrance to Hunter's Square. It is described as a magnificent edifice by Maitland, and one that, if not disfigured by one of those timber fronts (of the days of James IV.), would be the most sumptuous building perhaps in Edinburgh. But, like many others, it had rather a painful history. [See view, p. 136.]

"A principal proprietor of this building," says Maitland, "has been pleased to show me a deed wherein George Robertson of Lochart, burghess of Edinburgh, built the said tenement, which refutes the idle story of its being built by Kenneth III." The above-mentioned deed is dated Dec. 6, 1461, and, in the year 1508, the same author relates that James IV. empowered the Edinburghers to farm or let the Burghmuir, which they immediately cleared of wood; and in order to encourage people to buy this wood, the Town Council enacted that all persons might extend the fronts of their houses seven feet into the street, whereby the High Street was reduced fourteen feet in breadth, and the appearance of the houses much injured.

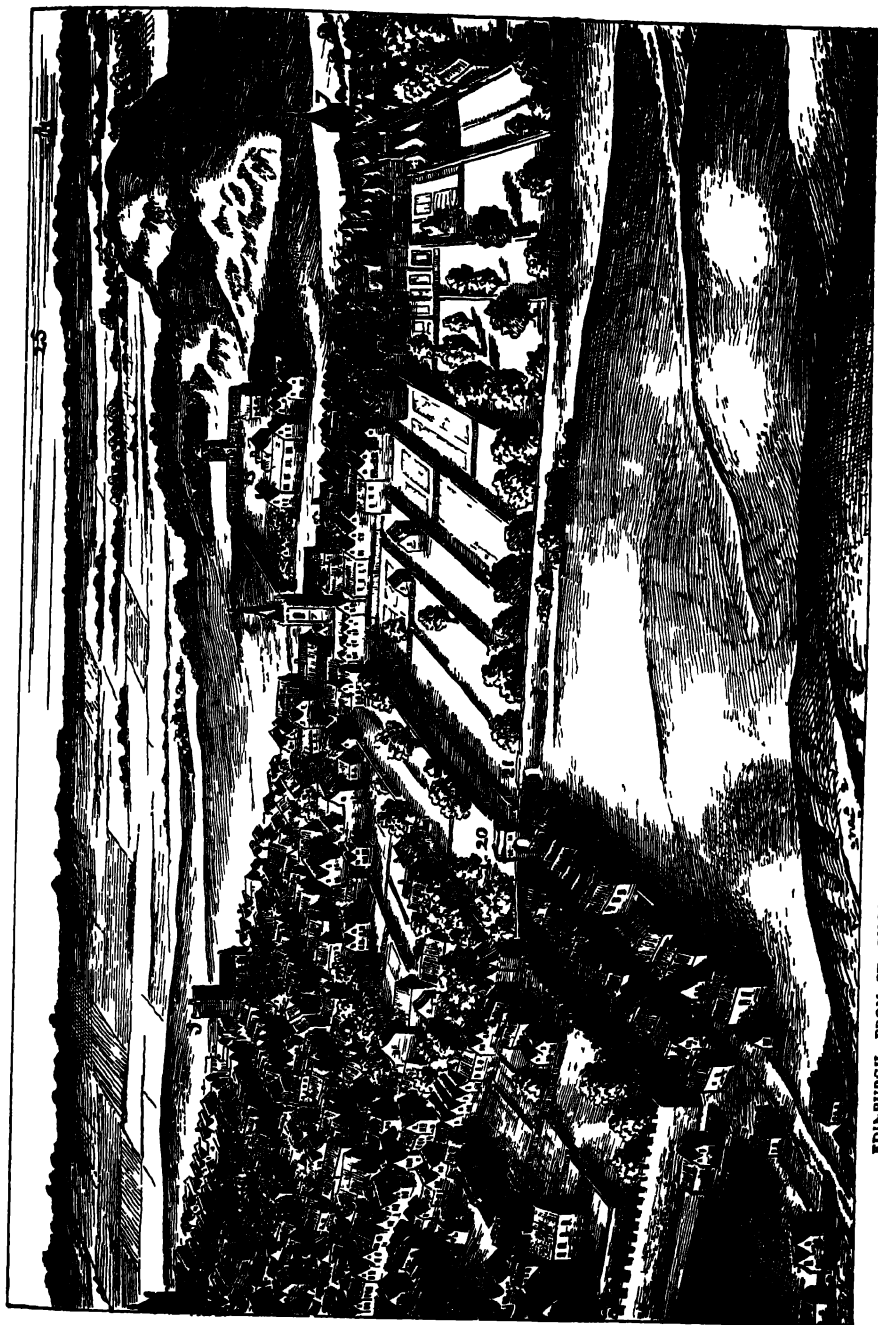
There is evidence that in the 16th century the Black Turnpike had belonged to George Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, in 1527, and Lord Privy Seal. In 1567 it was the town mansion of the provost of the city, Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, Balgay, and that ilk, ancestor of the Earls of Desmond in Ireland. It was to this edifice that Mary Queen of Scots was brought a prisoner, about nine in the evening of Sunday the 15th of June, by the confederate lords and their troops, after they violated the treaty by which she surrendered to them at Carberry Hill.

On the march towards the city the soldiers treated Mary with the utmost insolence and indignity, pouring upon her an unceasing torrent of epithets the most opprobrious and revolting to a female. Whichever way she turned an emblematic banner of white taffety, representing the dead body of the murdered Darnley, with the little king kneeling beside it, was held up before her eyes, stretched out between two spears. She wept; her young

heart was wrung with terrible anguish; she uttered the most mournful complaints, and could scarcely be kept in her saddle. This celebrated but obnoxious standard belonged to the band or company of Captain Lambie, a hired soldier of the Government, slain afterwards, in 1585, in a clan battle on Johnstone Moor. Instead of conveying Mary to Holyrood, as Sir William Kirkcaldy had promised, in the name of the Lords, they led her through the dark and narrow wynds of the crowded city, surrounded by a fierce, bigoted, and petulant mob, who loaded the air with hootings and insulting cries. The innumerable windows of the lofty houses, and the outside stair-heads—then the distinguishing features of a Scottish street—were crowded with spectators, who railed at her in unison with the crowd below. Mary cried aloud to all gentlemen, who in those days were easily distinguished by the richness of their attire, and superiority of their air—"I am your queen, your own native princess; oh, suffer me not to be abused thus!" "But alas for Scottish gallantry, the age of chivalry had passed away!" says the author of "Kirkcaldy's Memoirs," whose authorities are Calderwood, Melville, and Balfour. "Mary's face was pale from fear and grief; her eyes were swollen with tears; her auburn hair hung in disorder about her shoulders; her fair form was poorly attired in a riding tunic; she was exhausted with fatigue, and covered with the summer dust of the roadway, agitated by the march of so many men; in short, she was scarcely recognisable; yet thus, like some vile criminal led to execution, she was conducted to the house of Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar. The soldiers of the Confederates were long of passing through the gates; the crowd was so dense, and the streets were so narrow, that they filed through, man by man."

At the Black Turnpike she was barbarously thrust into a small stone chamber, only thirteen feet square by eight high, and locked up like a felon—she, the Queen of Scotland, the heiress of England, and the dowager of France! It was then ten o'clock; the city was almost dark, but fierce tumult and noise reigned without.

And this was the queen of whom the scholarly



EDINBURGH, FROM ST GILES'S CHURCH TO THE CANON GATE

(From the river engraving by Hollar in the British Museum.)

5, The Town Church, 6, The Nether Bow Gate 7, The Canon Gate 15, Trinity College Church and Hospital, 20, Potter Row Port 21, St. Mary's Port 22, The Firth of Edinburgh 27, The Free School.



Buchanan wrote thus, in his beautiful *Epithalamium* :—

"Behold the beauties that her brow adorn  
More bright than beams when Sol illumes the morn;  
Her graceful form and modest gait conspire  
To light the torch of pure and chaste desire;  
Her blooming cheeks with opening roses vie;  
What gentle light darts from her lovely eye!  
She perfect ease with elegance combine,  
While tender youth in wild alliance shines;  
She utterance bland with majesty unites,  
Charms every eye, and all the soul delights;  
Nor does her genius to her beauty yield,  
Nurtured with care behind Minerva's shield;  
She every hour in useful lore improves,  
And wanders far amid Pierian groves;  
Her mental powers, bright as the star of day,  
Her manners grace, and radiance round display."

There, however, she spent the night, the last she was ever to spend in the capital of her kingdom—a captive, yet still a queen. For 220 years after, this apartment, with its little window facing the High Street, was always regarded as an object of interest. "A woman, young, beautiful, and in distress," says the gentle Robertson, "is naturally an object of compassion. The comparison of their present misery with their former splendour naturally softens us in favour of illustrious sufferers; but the people beheld the deplorable situation of their sovereign with insensibility; and so strong was their persuasion of her guilt, that the sufferings of their queen did not in any way mitigate their resentment, or procure her that sympathy which is seldom denied to unfortunate princes."

At dawn on the following day there was a scuffle in the High Street, and under the walls of the Black Turnpike the helpless queen heard the clash of swords, and the war-cry of "A Home! a Home!"

As morning brightened she looked from the window of her prison, but the crowd was still there; she was greeted with the same yells and opprobrious epithets, while the same odious banner of Lambie's mercenaries was displayed before her eyes. Overcome by tears and despair, a kind of delirium seized her; she rent her clothes, and, heedless of the pitiless crowd, she appeared at the window, with her hair dishevelled and her bosom bare.

"Good people!" she exclaimed, in accents of agony; "good people! either satisfy your hatred and cruelty by taking my miserable life, or relieve me from the hands of these infamous and inhuman traitors."

To the honour of the citizens this appeal was not made in vain. Many of them pitied her,

believing that the affection she was said to bear the now fugitive Bothwell was caused by the love-philfers of his old paramour, the necromantic Lady of Buccleuch, "who knew the art that none may name." Accordingly, many of the more respectable burghers and booth-holders began to take arms, and throng the streets in their helmets and armour; while some of the changeful rabble began to revile the treaty-breaking lords, and to clamour for their queen.

A dread of what might ensue led to her immediate transmission to Holyrood to appease the populace; but when midnight came she was deprived of her ornaments, disguised in a kirtle of coarse russet, and compelled to accompany two of the most savage of the confederate barons, armed and in close helmets—William Lord Ruthven and the grim misanthrope Lindsay—who conveyed her direct to the Castle of Lochleven.

In 1693, and also in 1697, there was a case reported by Fountainhall, an action brought by the trustees of Heriot's Hospital against Robert Hepburn of Bearford, "for a ground annual out of the tenement called Robertson's Inn," afterwards mentioned as his tenement "called the Black Turnpike," the property of Robertson of Lochart in 1461. From documents then adduced, it would appear that the Bishop of Dunkeld had conferred the building on his two illegitimate daughters. About 164 years before its demolition, this edifice, universally said then to have been the oldest in the city, had been repaired, as the lintel of one of its doors in Peebles Wynd bore, according to the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1788, the inscription—"Pax intrantibus. salus. exeuntibus. 1674;" "a legend," says a writer, "peculiarly appropriate for the scene of the poor queen's last lodging in her capital, and probably the only thing to which the legend truly applied." However that may be, the building was demolished in the year 1788.

Lower down, on the same side of the street, was an ancient timber-fronted tenement, that remained unchanged in its external form till 1823. In its antique state it was one of the most perfect specimens existing of that picturesque French style introduced into Scotland in the years of the old alliance with France, and which characterised all the architecture of Edinburgh previous to the seventeenth century. The carved work beneath the eaves, in the projecting angles of the roof, was extremely beautiful.

This mansion was one of many built shortly after the last burning of Edinburgh, by the invaders under the Earl of Hertford in 1544, and

in an investment in favour of John Preston, Commissary, dated 1581, is described as "that tenement of lands lying in the said burgh on the south side of the High Street, and on the entry of the wynd of the Preaching Friars, formerly waste, having been burnt by the English." Thus it would appear to have been built between 1544 and 1581—probably near the former date, as the situation being central it was unlikely to remain long waste.

In 1572 it suffered greatly during the siege of the Castle, in common with the Earl of Mar's mansion in the Cowgate, and Baxter's house in Dalgleish's Close.

Its proprietor, John Preston, in 1581, though the son of a baker, was an eminent lawyer in the time of James VI., who was raised to the Bench in March, 1594, as Lord Fentonbarns (in succession to James first Lord Balmerino) and died President of the Court in 1616. His mode of election was curious. "The King," says Lord Hailes, "named Mr. Peter Rollock, Bishop of Dunkeld, Mr. David MacGill of Cranstoun-Riddel, and Mr. Preston of Fentonbarns, requesting the Lords to choose the fittest of the three to be an Ordinary Lord of Session. The Lords were solemnly sworn to choose according to their knowledge and conscience. In consequence of this, *conjecti in pileum rominibus* [by ballot], the Lords elected Mr. John Preston."

Before his death he attained to great wealth and dignity; he was knighted by King James, and his daughter Margaret was married in this old house to Robert Nairn of Markersie, and became mother of the first Lord Nairn, who was placed in the Tower of London by Cromwell in 1650, with many others, and not released till the Restoration, ten years after.

The senator's son, Sir Michael Preston, succeeded him in possession of the mansion in 1616.

Preston, together with Craig and Stirling, is mentioned in a satirical production of Alexander Montgomery, author of "The Cherrie and the Slae," and before whom he had become involved in a tedious suit before the Court of Session, and was at one time threatened with quarters in the Tolbooth. He wrote of Fentonbarns as—

"A baxter's bird, a blutter beggar born"

The old house narrowly escaped total destruction by a fire in 1795, thus nearly anticipating that of later years. It was the last survivor of the long and unbroken range of quaint and stately edifices on the south side of the street, between St. Giles's and the Nether Bow. An outside stair gave access

to the first floor, the stone turnpike stair of which bore the abbreviated legend in Gothic characters—

1<sup>RO</sup>. HONOR. ET. GLIA.

A little lower down the street, and nearly opposite the house of John Knox, dwelt Thomas Bassandyne, in that tall old mansion we have already referred to in an early chapter as having had built into its front the fine sculptured heads of the Emperor Septimius Severus and his Empress Julia, and having between them a tablet inscribed, "*In sudore vultus tui receris pane tuo*," which Wilson shrewdly suspects to have been a fragment of the adjacent convent of St. Mary, or some other old monastic establishment in Edinburgh.

Here it was that Thomas Bassandyne, a famous old Scottish typographer, in conjunction with Alexander Arhuthnot, undertook in 1574 the then arduous task of issuing his beautiful folio Bible, with George Young, a servant (clerk) of the Albot of Dunfermline, as a corrector of the press; the "printing irons," or types were of cast-metal. The work of printing the Bible proved a heavier task than they expected, as it had met with many impediments; and before the Privy Council, which was giving them monetary aid, they pleaded for nine months to complete the work, or return the money contributed towards it by various Scottish parishes. In this we see the first attempt to publish, by subscription. Here, too, Thomas Bassandyne printed his rare quarto edition of Sir David Lindsay's Poems in 1574. His will is preserved in the *Bannatyne Miscellany*, and from it it appears, that his mother was life-rented in that part of the house which formed the printer's dwelling, the annual rent of which was eight pounds; while the remainder that belonged to himself, was occupied by his brother Michael. At all events, he leaves in his will "his thrird, the ane half thairrof to his wyf, and the vthir half to his mother, and Michael and his bairnes," in which, says the memorialist of Edinburgh, we presume to have been included the house, which we find both he and his bairns afterwards possessing, and for which no rent would appear to have been exacted during the lifetime of the generous old printer.

His house is repeatedly referred to in the evidence of the accomplices of the Earl of Bothwell in the murder of Darnley, an event which took place during the life of Bassandyne, beneath whose house was one occupied by a sword slipper, with whom it is said lodged the Black John of Ormiston, one of the conspirators, for whom the rest called on the night of the murder.

One of the most famous edifices on the north side of the High Street was known as "the Bishop's Land," so called from having been the town residence of John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1615, and son of John Spottiswood, Superintendent of Lothian, a reformed divine, who prayed over James VI., and blessed him when an infant in his cradle, in the Castle of Edinburgh. From him the Archbishop inherited the house, which bore the legend and date,

BLISSIT . BE . YE . LORD . FOR . ALL . HIS . GIFTS . 1578.

consequently it must have been built when the Superintendent (whose father fell at Flodden) was in his sixty-eighth year, and was an edifice sufficiently commodious and magnificent to serve as a town residence of the Primate of Scotland, who in his zeal to promote the designs of James VI. for the establishment of Episcopacy, performed the then astounding task of no less than fifty journeys to London.

The ground floor of the mansion, like many others of the same age in the same street, was formed of a deeply-arched piazza, the arches of which sprang from massive stone piers. From the first floor there projected a fine brass balcony, that must many a time and oft have been hung with gay garlands and tapestry, and crowded with the fair and noble to witness the state pageants of old, such as the great procession of Charles I. to Holyrood, where he was crowned by the archbishop King of Scotland in 1633. From this house Spottiswood was obliged to fly, when the nation *en masse* resisted, with peremptory promptitude, the introduction of the Liturgy. He took refuge in London, where he died in 1639, and was interred in Westminster Abbey.

In 1752 the celebrated Lady Jane Douglas, wife of Sir George Stuart of Grantully, and the heroine of the famous "Douglas cause," was an occupant of "the Bishop's Land," till she ceased to be able to afford a residence even there. Therein, too, resided the first Lord President Dundas, and

there was born in 1741 his son, the celebrated statesman, Henry Viscount Melville.

There long abode, on the first floor of the "Bishop's Land," a fine old Scottish gentleman, "one of the olden time," Sir Stuart Thriepland, of Fingask Castle, Bart., whose father had been attainted after the battle of Sheriffmuir, which, however, did not prevent Sir Stuart from duly taking his full share in the '45. His wanderings over, and the persecutions past, he took up his residence here, and had his house well hung, we are told, with well-painted portraits of royal personages—but *not of the reigning house*. He died

in 1805, and the forfeited honours were generously restored by George IV. in 1826 to his son, Sir Patrick M. Thriepland of Fingask, which had long before been purchased back by the money of his mother, Janet Sinclair of Southdun.

On the third floor, above him, dwelt the Hamiltons of Pencritland, and the baronial Aytouns of Inchdairnie. Mrs. Aytoun was Isabel, daughter of Robert, fourth Lord Rollo, "and would sometimes come down the stair," says Robert Chambers, "lighting herself with a little waxen taper, to drink tea with Mrs. Janet Thriepland (Sir Patrick's sister)—for so



ALLAN RAMSAY.  
(From the Portrait in the 1761 Edition of his "Poems.")

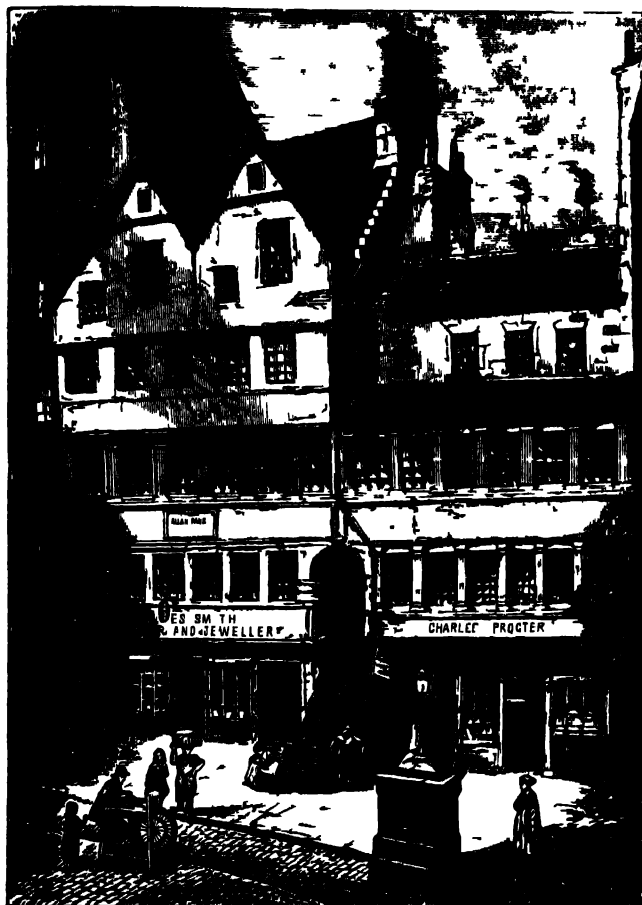
she called herself, though unmarried. In the uppermost floor of all lived a reputable tailor and his family. All the various tenants, including the tailor, were on friendly terms with each other—a pleasant thing to tell of this bit of the old world, which has left nothing of the same kind behind it in these days, when we all live at a greater distance, physical and moral, from each other."

This fine old tenement, which was one of the most aristocratic in the street till a comparatively recent period, was totally destroyed by fire in 1814.

Eastward of it stood the town-house of the Hendersons of Fordel (an old patrician Fife-shire family), with whom Queen Mary was once a visitor; but it, too, has passed away, and an

unattractive modern block of buildings occupies its site. In "Lamont's Diary" we read, that in 1649, Lady Pitarro, a sister of the Laird of Fordel-Henderson, "was delated by many to be a witch, was apprehended and carried to Elinburghe, where she was kept fast, and after

It is mentioned in 'Moyse's Memoirs,' when occupied by David ninth Earl of Crawford, in 1586, about the time when Francis Stewart Earl of Bothwell was alternately the pest and terror of James VI. Sir Alexander Lindsay, brother of the Earl of Crawford (a gentleman who was created



ALIAN RAMSAY'S SHOP, HIGH STREET

remaining in prison for a tyme, being in health at night, upon the morn was found dead. It was thought that she had wronged herself, either by strangling or by poyson, but we leave that to the judgment of the Great Day. She had likely died of grief and horror.

On the same side of the street, and nearly opposite the head of Blackfriars Wynd, was the lodging or town house of the Earls of Crawford

Lord Spynie and was slain in 1607 by Lindsay of Edzell) was promoted to the command of the Royal Guards, over the head of the Master of Glamis, who resented this bitterly. "Some bragging" says Moyse, "followed thereupon betwixt him and the Earl of Bothwell, who took part with the Earl of Crawford and his brother against the Master of Glamis, and both parties having great companies attending them, some tumult was

likely to have arisen. It happened by accident that the Earl of Bothwell, coming out of the Earl of Crawford's lodging, was met by the Earl of Marr, who was coming out of the Laird of Lochleven's lodging hard by; as it being about ten o'clock at night, and so dark that they could not know one another, he passed by, not knowing that the Master of Glamis was there, but thinking it was only the Earl of Marr. However, it was said that some ambushment of men and hackbuttiars had been dressed in the house by command of both parties."

Some brawl or tragedy had evidently been on the tapis, for next day the king had the Earl of Bothwell and the Master before him at Holyrood, and committed the former to ward in the Palace of Linlithgow, and the latter to the Castle of Edinburgh, "for having a band of hacquebuttiars in ambush with treasonable intent."

Passing to more peaceable times, on the same side of the street, we come to one of the most picturesque edifices in it, numbered as 155 (and nearly opposite Niddry Street), in which Allan Ramsay resided and began his earlier labours, "at the sign of the Mercury," before he removed, in 1726, to the shop in the Luckenbooths, where we saw him last.

It is an ancient timber-fronted land, the singularly picturesque aspect of which was much marred by some alterations in 1845, but herein worthy Allan first prosecuted his joint labours of author, editor, and bookseller. From this place he issued his poems in single or half sheets, as they were written; but in whatever shape they always found a ready sale, the citizens being wont to send their children with a penny for "Allan Ramsay's last piece." Here it was, that in 1724 he published the first volume of "The Tea Table Miscellany," a collection of songs, Scottish and English, dedicated

"To ilka lovely British lass,  
Frae Ladies Charlotte, Anne and Jean,  
Doon to ilk bonny singing Bess  
Wha dances barefoot on the green."

This publication ran through twelve editions, and its early success induced him in the same year to bring out "The Evergreen," a collection of Scottish poems, "wrote by the Ingenious before 1600," professed to be selected from the Bannatyne MSS. And here it was that Ramsay had some of his hard struggles with the magistrates and clergy, who deemed and denounced all light literature, songs, and plays, as frivolity and open profanity, in the sour fanatical spirit of the age.

Religion, in form, entered more into the daily habits of the Scottish people down to 1730 than it now does. Apart from regular attendance at church, and daily family worship, each house had some species of oratory, wherein, according to the *Domestic Annals*, "the head of the family could at stated times retire for his private devotions, which were usually of a protracted kind, and often accompanied by great moanings and groanings, expressive of an intense sense of human worthlessness without the divine favour." Twelve o'clock was the hour for the cold Sunday dinner. "Nicety and love of rich feeding were understood to be the hateful peculiarities of the English, and unworthy of the people who had been so much more favoured by God in the knowledge of matters of higher concern." Puritanic rigour seemed to be destruction for literature, and when Addison, Steele, and Pope, were conferring glory on that of England, Scotland had scarcely a writer of note; and Allan Ramsay, in fear and trembling of legal and clerical censure, lent out the plays of Congreve and Farquhar from that quaint old edifice numbered 155, High Street.

The town residence of the Ancrum family was long one of the finest specimens of the timber-fronted tenements of the High Street. It stood on the north side, at the head of Trunk's Close, behind the Fountain Well, and though it included several rooms with finely-stuccoed ceilings, and a large hall, beautifully decorated with rich pilasters and oak panelling—and was undoubtedly worthy of being preserved—it was demolished in 1873. Here was the first residence of Scott of Kirkstyle, who, in 1670, obtained a charter under the great seal of the barony of Ancrum, and in the following year was created Sir John Scott, Baronet, by Charles II.

In 1703 the house passed into the possession of Sir Gilbert Elliot, Bart., of Stobs, who resided here with his eight sons, the youngest of whom, for his glorious defence of Gibraltar, was created Lord Heathfield in 1787.

On the same side of the street, Archibald Constable, perhaps the most eminent publisher that Scotland has produced, began business in a small shop, in the year 1795, and from there, in the November of that year, he issued the first of that series of sale catalogues of curious and rare books, which he continued for a few years to issue at intervals, and which attracted to his shop all the bibliographers and lovers of literature in Edinburgh.

Hither came, almost daily, such men as Richard Heber, afterwards M.P. for the University of

Oxford; Mr. Alexander Campbell, author of the "History of Scottish Poetry"; Dr. Alexander Murray, the famous self-taught philologist; Dr. John Leyden, who died at Java; Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Scott; Sir John Graham Dalzell; and many others distinguished for a taste in Scottish literature and historical antiquities, including Dr. James Browne, author of the "History of the Highland Clans," and one of the chief contributors to Constable's *Edinburgh Magazine*.

The works of some of these named were among the first issued from Constable's premises in the High Street, where his obliging manners, professional intelligence, personal activity, and prompt attention to the wishes of all, soon made him popular with a great literary circle; but his actual reputation as a publisher may be said to have commenced with the appearance, in October, 1802, of the first number of the *Edinburgh Review*. His conduct towards the contributors of that famous quarterly was alike discreet and liberal, and to his business tact and straightforward deportment, next to the genius and talent of the projectors, much of its subsequent success must be attributed.

In 1804 he admitted as a partner Mr. Hunter of Blackness, and the firm took the name of Constable and Co.; and after various admissions, changes, and deaths, his sole partner in 1812 was Mr. Robert Cadell. In 1805 he started *The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*, a work projected in concert with Dr. Andrew Duncan; and in the same year, in conjunction with Longman and Co., of London, he published "The Lay of the Last Minstrel," the first of that long series of romantic publications in poetry and prose which immortalised the name of Scott, to whom he gave £1,000 for "Marmion" before a line of it was written. In conjunction with Messrs. Millar and Murray, and after many important works, including the "Encyclopædia Britannica," had issued from his establishment in 1814, he brought out the first of the "Waverley Novels."

Constable's shop "is situated in the High Street," says Peter in his "Letters to his Kinsfolk," "in the midst of the old town, where, indeed, the greater part of the Edinburgh booksellers are still to be found lingering (as the majority of their London brethren also do) in the neighbourhood of the same old haunts to which long custom has attached their predilections. On entering, one sees a place by no means answering, either in point of dimensions or in point of ornament, to the notion one might be apt to form of the shop from which so many mighty works are every day issuing

—a low, dusky chamber, inhabited by a few clerks, and lined with an assortment of unbound books and stationery—entirely devoid of all those luxurious attractions of sofas and sofa-tables and books of prints, &c., which one meets with in the superb nursery of the *Quarterly Review* in Albemarle Street. The bookseller himself is seldom to be seen in this part of his premises; he prefers to sit in a chamber immediately above, where he can proceed with his own work without being disturbed by the incessant cackle of the young Whigs who lounge below; and where few casual visitors are admitted to enter his presence, except the more important members of the great Whig Corporation—reviewers either in *esse*, or at least supposed to be so in *posse*—contributors to the supplement of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' . . . The bookseller is himself a good-looking man, apparently about forty, very fat in his person, with a face having good lines, and a fine healthy complexion. He is one of the most jolly-looking members of the trade I ever saw, and, moreover, one of the most pleasing and courtly in his address. One thing that is remarkable about him, and, indeed, very distinguishingly so, is his total want of that sort of critical jabber of which most of his brethren are so profuse, and of which custom has rendered me rather fond than otherwise. Mr. Constable is too much of a bookseller to think it at all necessary that he should appear to be knowing in the merits of books. His business is to publish books; he leaves the work of examining them before they are published, and criticising them afterwards, to others who have more leisure on their hands than he has."

In the same "Letters" we are taken to the publishing establishment of Manners and Millar, on the opposite side of the High Street—"the true lounging-place of the blue-stockings and literary *beau monde* of the Northern metropolis," but long since extinct.

Unlike Constable's premises, there the ante-rooms were spacious and elegant, adorned with busts and prints, while the back shop was a veritable *bijou*; "its walls covered with all the most elegant books in fashionable request, arrayed in the most luxurious clothing of Turkey and Russia leather, red, blue, and green—and protected by glass folding doors from the intrusion even of the little dust which might be supposed to threaten a place kept so delicately trim. The grate exhibits a fine blazing fire, or in its place a fresh bush of hawthorn, stuck all over with roses and lilies, and gay as a maypole," while paintings by Turner, Thomson, and Williams meet the eye on every

hand; but we are told that "one sees in a moment that this is not a great publishing shop; such weighty and laborious business would put to flight all the loves and graces that hover in the atmosphere of the place."

Millar was the successor of William Creech, but

how little could Alexander Arbuthnot, or worthy old Bassandyne, when struggling with iron types to print their famous Bible, and the works of David Lindesay, in the edifice which was not a bow-shot distant, have dreamed of such places or such bibliopoles?



KNOX'S STUDY.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

The Neighbourhood of Knox's House—Palmerino Mansion—Singular Accident—The Knox Memorial Church—Society Close—John Knox's House—The "Preaching Window"—His Wives—Attempted Assassination—Last Sermon—Death and Burial—James of Jerusalem—House of Archbishop Sharp—The Birthplace of William Falconer—Old Excise Office—The Nether Bow Port—The Earlier Gate—The Regent Morton's Surprise Party—The Last Gate—Its Demolition.

ONE of the chief "lions" of the High Street, if not of the old city itself, is the ancient manse of John Knox, which terminates it on the east, and is perhaps the oldest stone building of a private nature existing there, for it was inhabited long before his time by George Durie, Abbot of Dunfer-

line, who was also arch-dean of St. Andrews. He was promoted to the abbacy by James V. in 1539, and was canonised two years afterwards at Rome, according to Wilson; but no such name appears in Butler's "Lives of the Fathers."

Until within the last few years the whole of this portion of the High Street was remarkable for its ancient houses, all bearing unchanged the stamp of Mary's time—about 1562; some that had open booths below had been converted into closed shops, but the fore-stairs, from which the people had reviled her as she came in from Carberry, and from whence their descendants witnessed Montrose dragged to his doom, remained unaltered.

Adjoining the house of Knox (which we shall describe presently) once stood a timber-fronted fabric, having a corbelled oriel, and flats projecting over each other in succession, and a roof furnished with picturesque dormer windows. Its lintel bore the date 1601, and it was said to have been the mansion of the early Lords Balmerino. On a Sunday morning in 1840 this entire edifice suddenly parted in two—the front half was precipitated into the street with a terrible crash, while the back part remained in its original position, thus giving a perfect longitudinal section through the edifice to the people without, presenting suddenly a scene as singular as some of those displayed by the *diable boiteux* to the gaze of the student Don Cleofas, when all the roofs of Madrid disappeared before him.

Some of the inmates were seen in bed, others were partaking of their humble morning meal, and high up in the airy attic storey was seen an old crone on the creeper stool, smoking at her ingle

side. The whole inhabitants of the place were filled with consternation, but all escaped without injury. The ruins were removed, and on their site was built, in 1850, a very handsome Gothic church in connection with the Free Church body, and named after the Reformer. Its foundation stone was laid on the 18th of May, being a day memorable in the annals of the great Non-intrusion movement in Scotland.

The wooden-fronted edifice on the other side of Knox's house was, about the middle of the eighteenth century, occupied as a tavern, the place of many scenes of riotous mirth and high jinks, like those described by Scott in "Guy Mannering," and to which the ill-fated Sir Alexander Roswell refers in his curious poem on "Edinburgh and the Ancient Royalty," published in 1810:—

"Next to a neighbouring  
tavern all retired,  
And draughts of wine their  
various thoughts inspired.  
O'er draughts of wine the  
beau would moan his  
love;  
O'er draughts of wine the  
cit his bargain drove;  
O'er draughts of wine the  
writer penned the will,  
And legal wisdom coun-  
selled o'er a gill."

Behind where  
Knox's ancient  
manse and  
modern church  
stand, on the  
western side of Society  
Close, No. 21, High

Street, is an ancient stone land, on which is inscribed—

R.H. . HODIE . MIHI . CRAS . TIBI . CVR . IGITVR . CVRAS  
There was a date, now unknown. This was the property of Alison Bassandynne, daughter of Thomas the printer, and spouse of John Ker, and by her and others disposed of to John Binning in March, 1624; but the alley was long called Bassandynne's Close, till it took the name of Panmure, from the residence therein of John Maxie of Inverkeilroy,



*John Knox*  
*minister of Edinburgh*

PORTRAIT AND AUTOGRAPH OF JOHN KNOX.  
(Fac-simile of the Engraving in Beau's "Icons")



Baron of the Exchequer Court in 1748, and grandson of James of Balumbay, fourth Earl of Panmure, who fought with much heroic valour at the battle of Dunblane, and was attainted in 1715.

The spacious stone mansion which he occupied at the foot of the close, and the north windows of which overlooked the steep slope towards the Trinity Church, and the then bare, bleak mass of the Calton Hill beyond, was afterwards acquired as an office and hall by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and the Plantation of Schools in the Highlands "for the rooting out of the errors of popery and converting of foreign nations," a mighty undertaking, for which a charter was given it by Queen Anne in 1709. Thus the alley came to be called by its last name, Society Close.

Such were the immediate surroundings of that old manse, in which John Knox received the messengers of his queen, the fierce nobles of her turbulent Court, and the Lords of the Congregation. It is to the credit of the Free Church of Scotland, which has long since acquired it as a piece of property, that the progress of decay has been arrested, and some traces of its old magnificence restored. A wonderfully picturesque building of three storeys above the ground floor, it abuts on the narrowed street, and is of substantial ashlar, terminating in curious gables and masses of chimneys. A long admonitory inscription, extending over nearly the whole front, carved on a stone belt, bears these words in bold Roman letters :—*LUXE GOD . ABOVE . AL . AND . YOVR . NICHTBOUR . AS . YI SELF*. Perched upon the corner above the entrance door is a small and hideous effigy of the Reformer preaching in a pulpit, and pointing with his right hand above his head towards a rude sculpture of the sun bursting out from amid clouds, with the name of the Deity inscribed in three languages on its disc, thus :—

Θ Φ Χ  
Δ Λ Υ Σ  
G O D

On the decoration of the effigy the pious care of successive generations of tenants has been expended with a zeal not always appreciated by people of taste. The house contains a hall, the stuccoed ceiling of which pertains to the time of Charles II., when perhaps the building was repaired.

M'Crie, in his *Life of Knox*, tells us, that the latter, on commencing his duties in Edinburgh in 1559, when the struggles of the Reformation were well nigh over, was lodged in the house of David Forrest, a citizen, after which he removed

permanently to the house previously occupied by the exiled abbot of Dunfermline. The magistrates gave him a salary of £200 Scots yearly, and in 1561 ordered the Dean of Guild to make him a warm study in the house built of "dailles"—i.e., to be wainscoted or panelled.

This is supposed to be the small projection, lighted by one long window, looking westward up the entire length of the High Street; and adjoining it on the first floor is a window in an angle of the house, from which he is said to have held forth to the people in the street below, and which is still termed "the preaching window."

In this house he doubtless composed the "Confession of Faith" and the "First Book of Discipline," in which, at least, he had a principal hand, and which were duly ratified by Parliament; and it was during the first year of his abode in this house that he lost his first wife, Marjory Bowes (daughter of an English border family), whom he had married when an exile, a woman of amiable disposition and pious deportment, but whose portrait at Streatham Castle, Northumberland, is remarkable chiefly for its intense ugliness. She was with him in all his wanderings at home and abroad, and regarding her John Calvin thus expresses himself in a letter to the widower :—"*Uxorē nactus eras cui non reperuntur passim similes*"—"you had a wife the like of whom is not anywhere to be found." By her he had two sons.

Four years after her death, to this mansion, when in his fifty-ninth year, he brought his second wife, Margaret Stewart, the youngest daughter of Andrew, "the good" Lord Ochiltree, who, after his death, married Sir Andrew Kerr of Faudonside.

By his enemies it was now openly alleged that he must have gained the young girl's affections by the black art and the aid of the devil, whom he raised for that purpose in the yard behind his house. In that curious work entitled "The Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion," Nicol Burne, the author, relates that Knox, on the occasion of his marriage, went to the Lord Ochiltree with many attendants, "on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest as he was, bot lyk as had been ane of the Blude Royal, with his bands of taffettie feschnit with golden ringis and precious stones; and, as is plainlie reportit in the cuntry, be sorcerie and witchcraft did sua allure that puir gentilwoman, that scho could not leve without him." Another of Knox's traducers asserts, that not long after his marriage, "she (his wife) lying in bed and perceiving a blak, ugie ill-favoured man (the devil, of course) busily talking with him in the

same chamber, was so sodainly amazed that she took sickness and dyed;" an absurd fabrication, as in the year after his death a pension was granted to her and her three daughters, and she is known to have been alive till about the end of the sixteenth century.

In that old house, the abode of plebeians now, have sat and debated again and again such men as the Regent Murray, the cruel and crafty Morton, the Lords Boyd, Ruthven, Ochiltree, and the half-savage Lindsay—

"He whose iron eye  
Oft saw fair Mary weep in vain;"

Johnstone of Elphinstone, Fairlie, Campbell of Kinyeonecleugh, Douglas of Drumlanrig, and all who were the intimates of Knox; and its old walls have witnessed much and heard much that history may never unravel.

It was while resident here that Knox's enemies are said—for there is little proof of the statement—to have put a price upon his head, and that his most faithful friends were under the necessity of keeping watch around it during the night, and of appointing a guard for the protection of his person at times when he went abroad. When under danger of hostility from the queen's garrison in the Castle, in the spring of 1571, M'Crie tells us that "one evening a musket-ball was fired in at his window and lodged in the roof of the apartment in which he was sitting. It happened that he sat at the time in a different part of the room from that which he had been accustomed to occupy, otherwise the ball, from the direction it took, must have struck him."

It was probably after this that he retreated for a time to St. Andrews, but he returned to his manse in the end of August, 1572, while Kirkaldy was still vigorously defending the fortress for his exiled queen.

His bodily infirmities now increased daily, and on the 11th of November he was attacked with a cough which confined him to bed.

Two days before that he had conducted the services at the induction of his colleague, Mr. James Lawson, in St. Giles's, and though he was greatly debilitated, he performed the important duties that devolved upon him with something of his wonted fire and energy to those who heard him for the last time. He then came down from the pulpit, and leaning on his staff, and supported by his faithful secretary, Richard Bannatyne (one account says by his wife), he walked slowly down the street to his own house, accompanied by the whole congregation, watching, for the last time, his feeble steps.

During his last illness, which endured about a fortnight, he was visited by many of the principal nobles and reformed preachers, to all of whom he gave much advice; and on Monday, the 24th of November, 1572, he expired in his sixty-seventh year, having been born in 1505, during the reign of James IV.

From this house his body was conveyed to its last resting-place, on the south side of St. Giles's, accompanied by a mighty multitude of all ranks, where the newly-appointed Regent Morton pronounced over the closing grave his well-known eulogium.

That eastern nook of the old city, known as the Nether Bow has many associations connected with it besides the manse of Knox.

Therein was the abode of Robert Lekprevik, one of the earliest of Scottish printers, to whose business it is supposed Bassandyne succeeded on his removal to St. Andrews in 1570; and there, in 1613, the authorities discovered that a residenter named James Stewart, "commonly called James of Jerusalem, a noted Papist, and re-setter of seminary prints," was wont to have mass celebrated in his house by Robert Philip, a priest returned from Rome. Both men were arrested and tried on this charge, together with a third, John Logan, portioner, of Restalrig, who had formed one of the small and secret congregation in Stewart's house in the Nether Bow. "One cannot, in these days of tolerance," says Dr. Chambers, "read without a strange sense of uncouthness the solemn expressions of horror employed in the dittays of the king's advocates against the offenders, being precisely the same expressions that were used against heinous offences of a more tangible nature."

Logan was fined £1,000, and compelled to express public penitence; and Philip and Stewart were condemned to banishment from the realm of Scotland.

In the Nether Bow was the residence of James Sharp, who had been consecrated with great pomp at Westminster, as Archbishop of St. Andrews, on the 15th of November, 1661—a prelate famous for his unrelenting persecution of the faithful adherents of the Covenant which followed his elevation, and justly increased the general odium of his character, and who perished under the hands of pitiless assassins on Magus Muir, in 1679.

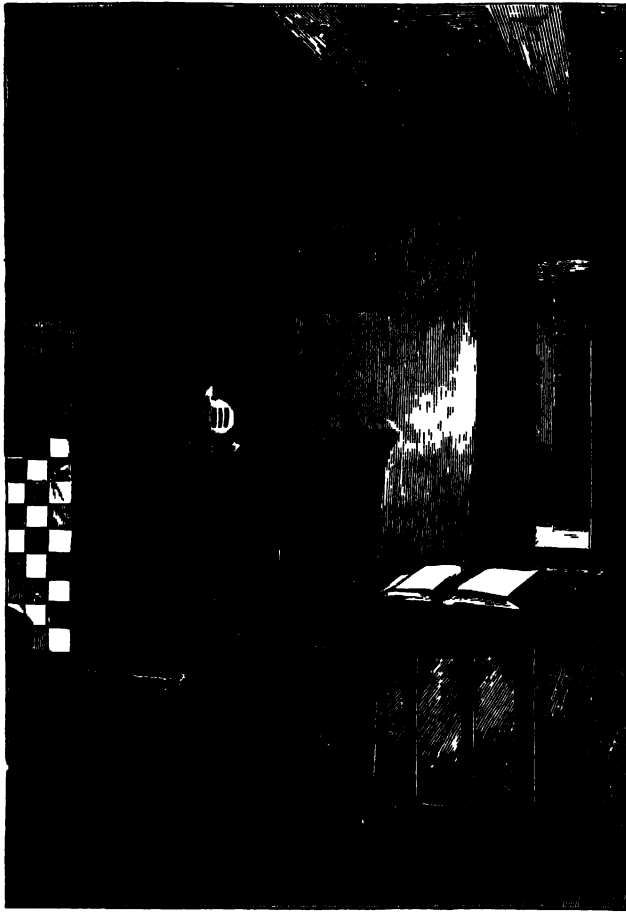
Nicoll, the diarist, tells us, that on the 8th of May, 1662, all the newly consecrated bishops were conveyed in their gowns at the house of the Archbishop, in the Nether Bow, from whence they proceeded in state to the Parliament House, conducted by two peers, the Earl of Kellie (who had been

especially excepted out of Cromwell's act of indemnity for his loyalty), and David Earl of Wemyss.

In the *Edinburgh Courant* for October 16th, 1707 (then edited by Daniel Defoe), we have the following advertisement from a quack in this locality:—

Bow of Edinburgh, at William Muidies, where the Scarburay woman sells the same."

Here, in the Nether Bow, dwelt a humble wig-maker and barber, named Falconer, whose son William, author of the beautiful and classic poem, "The Shipwreck," was born in 1730. The Nether



KNOX'S BED ROOM.

"There is just now come to town the excellent Scarburay Water, good for all diseases whatsoever, except consumption; and this being the time of year for drinking the same, especially at the fall of leaf and the bud, the price of each chapin bottle is fivepence, the bottle never required, or three shillings Scots (3d. English) without the bottle. Any person who has a mind for the same may come to the Fountain Close within the Nether

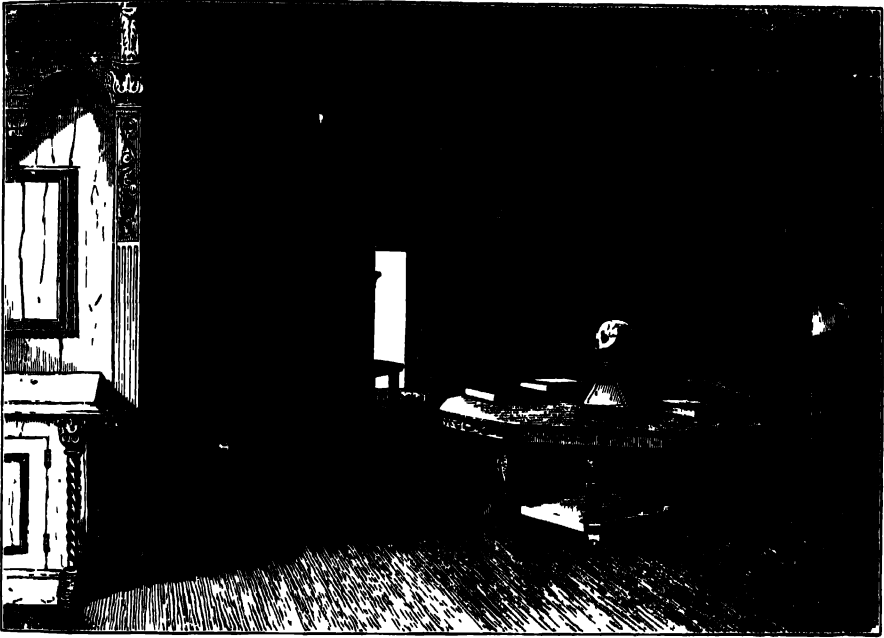
Bow was his playground in early years, and there—ere he became an apprentice on board a merchant vessel at Leith—with his deaf and dumb brother and sister, he shared in the sports and frolics of those who have all but himself long since passed into the realm of oblivion. As a poet, Falconer's fame rests entirely on "The Shipwreck," which is a didactic as well as descriptive poem, and may well be recommended to the young sailor,

not only to inspire his enthusiasm, but improve his seamanship; and there was something prophetic in the poem, as the frigate *Aurora*, in which he served, perished at sea in 1769.

Eastward of Knox's manse is an old timber-fronted land, bearing the royal arms of Scotland on its first floor, and entered by a stone turnpike, the door of which has the legend *Deus Benedictat*, and long pointed out as the excise office of early times. "The situation," says Wilson, "was peculiarly convenient for guarding the principal gate of

das's splendid mansion in St. Andrew's Square, now occupied by the Royal Bank. This may be considered its culminating point. It descended thereafter to Bellevue House, in Drummond Place, built by General Scott, the father-in-law of Mr. Canning, which house was demolished in 1846 in completing the tunnel of the Edinburgh and Leith Railway; and now we believe the exciseman no longer possesses a 'local habitation' within the Scottish capital."

The interesting locality of the Nether Bow takes



KNOX'S SITTING-ROOM.

the city, and the direct avenue (Leith Wynd) to the neighbouring seaport. . . . Since George II.'s reign the excise office had as many rapid vicissitudes as might mark the career of a profligate spendthrift. In its earlier days, when a floor of the old land in the Nether Bow sufficed for its accommodation, it was regarded as foremost among the detested fruits of the Union. From thence it removed to more commodious chambers in the Cowgate, since demolished to make way for the southern piers of George IV. bridge. Its next resting-place was the large tenement on the south side of Chessel's Court in the Canongate, the scene of the notorious Deacon Brodie's last robbery. From thence it was removed to Sir Lawrence Dun-

its name from the city gate, known as the Nether Bow Port, in contradistinction to the Upper Bow Port, which stood near the west end of the High Street. This barrier united the city wall from St. Mary's Wynd on the south to the steep street known as Leith Wynd on the north, at a time when, perhaps, only open fields lay eastward of the gate, stretching from the township to the abbey of Holyrood. The last gate was built in the time of James VI.; what was the character of its predecessor we have no means of ascertaining; but to repair it, in 1538, as the city cash had run low, the magistrates were compelled to mortgage its northern vault for 100 merks Scots; and this was the gate which the English, under Lord Hertford, blew open

with cannon stone-shot in 1544, ere advancing against the Castle. "They hauled their cannons up the High Street by force of men to the Butter Tron, and above," says Calderwood, "and hazarded a shot against the fore entrie of the Castle (*i.e.*, the port of the Spur). But the wheel and axle of one of the English cannons was broken, and some of their men slain by shot of ordnance out of the Castle; so they left that rash enterprise."

In 1571, during the struggle between Kirkaldy and the Regent Morton, this barrier gate played a prominent part. According to the "Diurnal of Occurrents," upon the 22nd of August in that year, the Regent and the lords who adhered against the authority of the Queen, finding that they were totally excluded from the city, marched several bands of soldiers from Leith, their head-quarters, and concealed them under cloud of night in the closes and houses adjoining the Nether Bow Port. At five on the following morning, when it was supposed that the night watch would be withdrawn, six soldiers, disguised as millers, approached the gates, leading horses laden with sacks of meal, which were to be thrown down as they entered, so as to preclude the rapid closing of them, and while they attacked and cut down the warders, with those weapons which they wore under their disguise, the men in ambush were to rush out to storm the town, aided by a reserve, whom the sound of their trumpets was to summon from Holyrood. "But the eternal God," says the quaint old journalist we quote, "knowing the cruell murther that wold have beene done and committit vponn innocent poor personis of the said burgh, wold not thole this interpryse to tak successe; but evin quhen the said meill was almaist at the port, and the said men of war, stationed in clois headis, in readinesse to enter at the back of the samyne;" it chanced that a burgher of the Canongate, named Thomas Barrie, passed out towards his house in the then separate burgh, and perceiving soldiers concealed on every hand, he returned and gave the alarm, on which the gate was at once barricaded, and the design of the Regent and his adherents baffled.

This gate having become ruinous, the magistrates in 1606, three years after James VI. went to England, built a new one, of which many views are preserved. It was a handsome building, and quite enclosed the lower end of the High Street. The arch, an ellipse, was in the centre, strengthened by

round towers and battlements on the eastern or external front, and in the southern tower there was a wicket for foot passengers. On the inside of the arch were the arms of the city. The whole building was crenelated, and consisted of two lofty storeys, having in the centre a handsome square tower, terminated by a pointed spire. It was adorned by a statue of James VI., which was thrown down and destroyed by order of Oliver Cromwell, and had on it a Latin inscription, which runs thus in English:—

"Watch towers and thund'ng walls vain fences prove  
No guards to monarchs like their people's love.  
Jacobus VI. Rex, Anna Regina, 1606."

This gate has been rendered remarkable in history by the extra-judicial bill that passed the House of Lords for razing it to the ground, in consequence of the Porteous mob. For a wonder, the Scottish members made a stand in the matter, and as the general Bill, when it came to the Commons, was shorn of all its objectionable clauses, the Nether Bow Port escaped.

In June, 1737, when the officials of Edinburgh, who had been taken to London for examination concerning the riot, were returning, to accord them a cordial reception the citizens rode out in great troops to meet them, while for miles eastward the road was lined by pedestrians. The Lord Provost, Alexander Wilson, a modest man, eluded the ovation by taking another route; but the rest came in triumph through the city, forming a procession of imposing length, while bonfires blazed, all the bells clanged and clashed as if a victory had been won over England, and the gates of the Nether Bow Port, which had been unhooked, were re-hung and closed amid the wildest acclamation.

In 1760 the Common Council of London having obtained an Act of Parliament to remove their city gates, the magistrates of Edinburgh followed suit without any Act, and in 1764 demolished the Nether Bow Port, then one of the chief ornaments of the city, and like the unoffending Market Cross, a peculiarly interesting relic of the past. The ancient clock of its spire was afterwards placed in that old Orphan's Hospital, near Shakespeare Square, where it remained till the removal of the latter edifice in 1845, when the North British Railway was in progress, and it is now in the pediment between the towers of the beautiful Tuscan edifice built for the orphans near the Dean cemetery.

## CHAPTER XXV.

THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

The Ancient Markets—The House of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney—The Bishop and Queen Mary—His Sister Anne—Sir William Dick of Brind—His Colonial Wealth—Hard Fortune—The "Lamentable State"—Advocate's Close—Sir James Stewart's House—Andrew Crosbie, "Counsellor Playdell"—Scougal's House—His Picture Gallery—Roxburgh's Close—Warriston's Close—Lord Philiphaugh's House—Bruce of Rinning's Mansion—Messrs. W. and R. Chambers's Printing and Publishing Establishment—History of the Firm—House of Sir Thomas Craig—Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston.

PREVIOUS to 1477 there were no particular places assigned for holding the different markets in the city, and this often caused much personal strife among the citizens. To remedy this evil, James III., by letters patent, ordained that the markets for the various commodities should be held in the following parts of the city, viz. :—

In the Cowgate, the place for the sale of hay, straw, grass, and horse-meat, ran from the foot of Forrester's Wynd to the foot of Peebles Wynd.

The flesh market was to be held in the High Street, on both sides, from Niddry's Wynd to the Blackfriars Wynd; the salt market to be held in the former Wynd.

The crames, or booths, for chapmen were to be set up between the Bell-house and the Tron on the north side of the street; the booths of the hat-makers and skimmers to be on the opposite side of the way.

The wood and timber market extended from Dalrymple's Yard to the Greyfriars, and westward. The place for the sale of shoes, and of red barked leather, was between Forrester's Wynd and the west wall of Dalrymple's Yard.

The cattle-market, and that for the sale of slaughtered sheep, was to be about the Tron beam, and so "doun throu to the Friar's Wynd; also, all pietricks, pluvars, capones, conyngs, chekins, and all other wyld foulis and tame, to be usit and sald about the Market Croce."

All living cattle were not to be brought into the town, but to be sold under the walls, westward of the royal stables, or lower end of the Grassmarket.

Meal, grain, and corn were to be retailed from the Tolbooth up to Liberton's Wynd.

The Upper Bow was the place ordained for the sale of all manner of cloths, cottons, and haberdashery; also for butter, cheese, and wool, "and sicklike gudis yat suld be weyt" at a tron set there, but not to be opened before nine A.M. Beneath the Nether Bow, and about St. Mary's Wynd, was the place set apart for cutlers, smiths, lorimers, lock-makers, "and sicklike workmen; and all armour, graith, gear," and so forth, were to be sold in the Friday market, before the Greyfriars.

In Gordon of Rothiemay's map "the flesh-stocks" are shown as being in the Canongate, immediately below the Nether Bow Port.

Descending the High Street, after passing Bank Street, to which we have already referred, there is situated one of the most remarkable old edifices in the city—the mansion of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney. It stands at the foot of Byres' Close, so named from the house of Sir John Byres of Coates, but is completely hidden from every point save the back windows of the *Daily Review* office. A doorway on the east side of the close gives access to a handsome stone stair, guarded by a curved balustrade, leading to a garden terrace that overlooked the waters of the loch. Above this starts abruptly up the north front of the house, semi-hexagonal in form, surmounted by three elegantly-carved dormer windows, having circular pediments, and surmounted by a finial.

On one was inscribed *Laus ubique Deo*; on another, *Feliciter, infelix*.

In this edifice (long used as a warehouse by Messrs. Clapperton and Co.) dwelt Adam, Bishop of Orkney, the same prelate who, at four in the morning of the 15th of May, 1567, performed in the chapel royal at Holyrood the fatal marriage ceremony which gave Bothwell possession of the unfortunate and then despairing Queen Mary.

He was a senator of the College of Justice, and the royal letter in his favour bears, "Providing always ye find him able and qualified for administration of justice, and conform to the acts and statutes of the College."

He married the unhappy queen after the new forms, "not with the mess, but with preachings," according to the "Diurnal of Occurrents," in the chapel; according to Keith and others, "in the great hall, where the Council usually met." But he seemed a pliable prelate where his own interests were concerned; he was one of the first to desert his royal mistress, and, after her enforced abdication, placed the crown upon the head of her infant son; and in 1568, according to the book of the "Universal Kirk," he bound himself to preach a sermon in Holyrood, and therein to confess publicly his offence in performing a marriage ceremony for Bothwell and Mary.

As the name of the bishop was appended to that infamous bond of adherence granted by the Scottish nobles to Bothwell, before the latter put in practice his ambitious schemes against his sovereign, it is

very probable that the Earl may often have been a guest in that old mansion, and King James himself in later years. The bishop, who married Margaret Murray of Touchadam, died in 1593, and was succeeded in the old mansion by his son John Bothwell, designed of Auldhamer, who accompanied King James to England, and was created Lord Holyroodhouse, in the peerage of Scotland, in 1607.

Here dwelt his sister Anne—a woman of remarkable beauty, whose wrongs are so touchingly re-

“an English villain,” according to Balfour—a servant boy, out of revenge against his master.

In the *Scots Magazine* for 1774 we have a notice of the death of Eleonora Bothwell, daughter of the deceased Henry, Lord Holyroodhouse.

Alexander, his son, Master of Holyroodhouse, who died about the middle of the last century ended the line of the family, of whom no relic now remains save the tomb of Bishop Adam, which still exists in Holyrood chapel. On the front of



THE EXCISE OFFICE AT THE NETHLEBOW (After a Photograph by Alexander A. Inglis)

corded in the sweet old ballad known as *Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament*. She was betrayed in a disgraceful *liaison* by Sir Alexander Friskine (a son of John, 14th Earl of Mar), of whom a portrait by Jamieson is still extant, and represents him in the military dress of his time—a handsome man in a cuirass and scarf, with a face full of nobility of expression.

The lady's name does not appear in the Douglas peerage, but her cruel description by Sir Alexander was confidently believed at the time to have justly exposed him to the vengeance of heaven, for he perished with the Earl of Haddington and others in the Castle of Douglas which was blown up by gunpowder in 1640, through the instrumentality of

the third pillar from the east is a tablet with his arms—a chevron, between three trefoils slipped, with a crescent, and a very long inscription, the first six lines of which run thus—

‘Hic reclinatus jacet nobilissimus vir  
Dominus Adamus Bethuelius I puer opus  
Orcadum et Zethlandie Commendatorius Monasterii  
Sancti Crucis Senator et Consiliarius  
Regius qui obiit anno ætatis sue 67  
23 die Mensis Augusti, Anno Domini 1593.’

The ancient edifice is associated with an eminent citizen, who lived in later but not less troublesome and warlike times, Sir William Dick, ancestor of the present baronets of Prestonfield. The south,

and only remaining part of the bishop's house has been completely modernised, and faced with a new stone front, "but many citizens still (in 1847) remember when an ancient timber façade projected its lofty gables into the street, with tier above tier,

then astonishing sum of £200,000 sterling, and whose chequered history presents one of the most striking examples of the instability of human affairs.

He came to Orkney people, and began life by farming the Crown rents of the northern isles at



THE NETHER HOW FORT FROM THE HIGH STREET  
(From an Original Drawing among the King's Prints in the Library of the British Museum)

fir out beyond the lower storey, while below were the covered piazza and darkened entrances to the gloomy laigh shops, such as may still be seen in the few examples of old timber lands that have escaped demolition (Wilson)

Here then abode Sir William Dick of Brud, provost of the city in 1638, whose wealth was so great that he was believed to have discovered the philosophers stone, though his fortune only reached the

£3,000 sterling after which he established an active trade with the Baltic and Mediterranean, and made, moreover, a profitable business by the negotiation of bills of exchange with Holland "He had ships on every sea, and could ride on his own lands from North Berwick to near Linlithgow, his wealth centreing in a warehouse in the Luckenbooths, on the site of that now (in 1859) occupied by John Clapperton and Co'



On becoming provost, he was easily led by his religious persuasion to become a sort of voluntary exchequer for the friends of the National Covenant, and in 1641 he advanced to them 100,000 merks to save them from the necessity of disbanding their army; and when the Scottish Parliament in the same year levied 10,000 men for the protection of their colony in Ulster, they could not have embarked had they not been provisioned at the expense of Sir William Dick. Scott, in the "Heart of Midlothian," alludes to the loans of the Scottish Cressus thus, when he makes Davie Deans say, "My father saw them toom the sacks of dollars out o' Provost Dick's window intil the carts that carried them to the army at Dunse Law; and if ye winna believe his testimony, there is the window itself still standing in the Luckenbooths, five doors aboon the Advocates' Close—I think it is a clath-merchant's the day."

And singular to say, a cloth merchant's "booth" it continued long to be.

In 1642 the Customs were let to Sir William Dick for 202,000 merks, and 5,000 merks of *grassum*, or "entrence siller;" but, as he had a horror of Cromwell and the Independents, he advanced £20,000 for the service of King Charles—a step by which he kindled the wrath of the prevailing party; and, after squandering his treasure in a failing cause, he was so heavily mulcted by extortion of £65,000 and other merciless penalties, that his vast fortune passed speedily away, and he died in 1655, a prisoner of Cromwell's, in a gaol at Westminster, under something painfully like a want of the common necessities of life.

He and Sir William Gray were the first men of Edinburgh who really won the position of merchant princes. The changeful fortunes of the former are commemorated in a scarce folio pamphlet, entitled "The Lamentable State of the Deceased Sir William Dick," and containing several engravings. One represents him on horseback, escorted by halberdiers, as Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and superintending the unloading of a great vessel at Leith; a second represents him in the hands of bailiffs; and a third lying dead in prison. "The tract is highly esteemed by collectors of prints," says Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the "Heart of Midlothian." "The only copy I ever saw upon sale was rated at £30."

Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees (a place now called Moredun, in the parish of Liberton) who was Lord Advocate of Scotland from 1692 until his death in 1713, a few months only excepted, gave a name to the next narrow and gloomy alley, Advocates' Close, which bounded on the

east the venerable mansion of the Lords Holyrood-house.

His father was provost of the city when Cromwell paid his first peaceful visit thereto in 1648-9, and again in 1658-9, at the close of the Protectorate. The house in which he lived and died was at the foot of the close, on the west side, before descending a flight of steps that served to lessen the abruptness of the descent. He had returned from exile on the landing of the Prince of Orange, and, as an active revolutionist, was detested by the Jacobites, who ridiculed him as *Jamie Wylie* in many a bitter pasquil. He died in 1713, and Wodrow records that "so great was the crowd (at his funeral) that the magistrates were at the grave in the Greyfriars' Churchyard before the corpse was taken out of the house at the foot of the Advocates' Close."

In 1769 his grandson sold the house to David Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Westhall, who resided in it till nearly the time of his death in 1784. This close was a very fashionable one in the days of Queen Anne, and was ever a favourite locality with members of the bar. Among many others, there resided Andrew Crosbie, the famous original of Scott's "Counsellor Pleydell," an old lawyer who was one of the few that was able to stand his ground in any argument or war of words with Dr. Johnson during that visit when he made himself so obnoxious in Edinburgh. From this dark and steep alley, with its picturesque overhanging gables and timber projections, Mr. Crosbie afterwards removed to a handsome house erected by him in St. Andrew's Square, ornamented with lofty, half-sunk Ionic columns and a most ornate attic storey (on the north side of the present Royal Bank), afterwards a fashionable hotel, long known as Douglas's and then as Slaney's, where even royalty has more than once found quarters. By the failure of the Ayr Bank he was compelled to leave his new habitation, and died in 1784 in such poverty that his widow owed her whole support to a pension of £50 granted to her by the Faculty of Advocates.

The house lowest down the close, and immediately opposite that of Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, was the residence of an artist of some note in his time, John Scougal, who painted the well-known portrait of George Heriot, which hangs in the council room of the hospital. He was a cousin of that eminent divine Patrick Scougal, parson of Saltoun in East Lothian and Bishop of Aberdeen in 1664.

John Scougal added an upper storey to the old land in the Advocates' Close, and fitted up one of

the floors as a picture gallery or exhibition, a new feature in the Edinburgh of the seventeenth century, and long before any such idea had been conceived in France, England, or any other country. Some of his best works were in possession of the late Andrew Bell, engraver, the originator of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," who married his granddaughter. "For some years after the Revolution," says Pinkerton, "he was the only painter in Scotland, and had a very great run of business. This brought him into a hasty and incorrect manner." So here, in the Advocates' Close, in the dull and morose Edinburgh of the seventeenth century, was the fashionable lounge of the dilettanti, the resort of rank and beauty—a quarter from which the *haut ton* of the present day would shrink with aversion.

He died at Prestons in the year 1730, in his eighty-fifth year, after having witnessed as startling a series of political changes as ever occurred in a long lifetime.

Taking the ancient alleys seriatim, Roxburghe Close comes next, numbered as 341, High Street, and so named, it may confidently be supposed (though it cannot be proved as a fact) from having contained the town residence of some ancient Earl of Roxburghe. All its ancient features have disappeared, save a door built up with a handsome cut legend in raised Roman letters:—"WHATSOEVER ME BEFALL. I THANK THE LORD OF ALL. J. M., 1586." This is said to have been the dwelling-place of the Roxburghe family, but by tradition only. If true, it takes the antiquary back to the year in which Sir Walter Kerr of Cessford (ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburghe), "baron of Auld-Roxburghe, the castle thereof and the lands of Auldburn, &c.," died at a great age, the last survivor, perhaps, of the affray in which Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch perished at Edinburgh.

Warriston's Close (anciently called Bruce's), the

next we come to in descending the north side of the street, remains only in name, the houses on both sides being entirely new, and its old steep descent broken at intervals by convenient flights of steps; but until 1868 it was nearly unchanged from its ancient state, some relics of which still remain.

It had handsome fronts of carefully-polished ashlar, with richly-decorated doorways with pious legends on their lintels, to exclude witches, fairies, and all manner of evil; there were ornate dormer

windows on the roofs with steep crow-stepped gables, black with the smoke and storms of centuries.

"QUI. ERIT. ILLE. MIHI. SEMPER. DEUS. 1583," was the legend which first caught the eye above a door of a tenement on the west side, long occupied by James Murray, Lord Philiphaugh, raised to the bench November 1st, 1689, without having any predecessor, being one of the set of judges nominated after the Revolution. After being chosen member of Parliament for Selkirk in 1681, he had become an object of special jealousy to the Scottish Cavalier Government. He was imprisoned in 1684, and under terror

of being tortured in the iron boots, before the Privy Council in the Laigh Chamber below the Parliament House, he gave evidence against those who were concerned in the Rye House Plot.

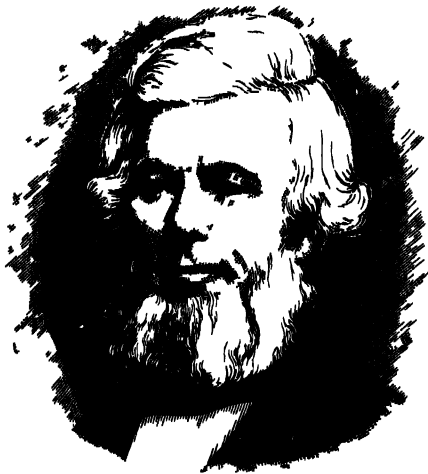
Lord Philiphaugh had the character of being an upright judge, but the men of his time never forgot or forgave the weakness that made him stoop to save his life, though many of them might no doubt have acted in the same way, the Scottish Privy Council of that time being a species of *Star Chamber* that did not stand on trifles.

Farther down the close was another edifice, the lintel of which like some others that were in the same locality, has been with great good taste rebuilt, as a lintel, into the extensive printing and publishing premises of the Messrs. Chambers, a



HOUSE OF LORD ADVOCATE STEWART, AT THE FOOT OF ADVOCATES' CLOSE, WEST SIDE.

turreted edifice, that now forms the west side of Warriston's Close, and built in 1868. It bears the legend *Gracia Dei Robertus Bruus*, with a



WILLIAM CHAMBERS  
(From a photograph by J. H. Lamb)

shield at each end, one having the arms of Bruce of Binning in Inlothgowshire, impaled with those of Preston—three unicorns' heads.

The eminent publishers, whose extensive premises now occupy the east side of Warriston's Close, William and Robert Chambers—the great pioneers of the cheap literature movement—were born at Peebles, in 1800 and 1802 respectively. Their ancestors were woollen manufacturers, and their father carried on the business in cotton at Peebles on so large a scale that he used sometimes to have a hundred looms at work.

He was thus enabled to give his sons a good education at the schools of their native town, where Robert passed through a classical course, with the view of taking orders in the church of Scotland; but monetary misfortunes having overtaken his parents, the family removed to Edinburgh, where the two brothers were thrown in a great measure on their own resources, but formed the noble resolution to try by stern industry to regain the ground their family had lost, and a love of reading led them gradually into the business of book-selling.

William served an apprenticeship from 1814 to 1819, with Mr Sutherland Calton Street, who gave him four shillings weekly as wages, and on this small sum—shrinking from being a burden on his delicate and struggling mother—he took a lodging,

at 1s 6d per week, in Boak's Land, West Port, a little bed closet which he shared with a poor divinity student from the hills of Tweeddale. Out of these slender wages he contrived to save a few shillings and began business, in a very small way, in 1819, and by the following year added printing thereto, having taught himself that craft, cutting with his own hand the larger types out of wood.

By 1818 Robert had begun business in a tiny shop as a bookstall-keeper, in Leith Walk, and having a strong literary turn, he made an essay as author by starting a small periodical called the *Kalends*, the types of which were set up and printed off by William in an old rickety press which he relates 'emitted a jangling, creaking noise, like a shriek of anguish' when worked. After a brief career this publication was dropped to enable Robert in 1822, to write a volume likely to be popular—*Illustrations of the Author of Waverley*, referring to the supposed original characters of the novelist. Of this work William was printer, binder and publisher, and a second edition appeared in 1824.

Immediately after its issue he began his 'Traditions of Edinburgh' (in the plan and production of which the brothers anticipated a joint work that was to have been written by Scott and Kirkpatrick Sharpe)—a book rewritten and republished in one



ROBERT CHAMBERS  
(From a private photograph)

volume by the firm in 1868, and in the preface to which Robert writes—

"I am about to do what very few could do without emotion—revise a book which I wrote

forty-five years ago. This little work came out in the Augustan days of Edinburgh, when Jeffrey and Scott, Wilson and the Ettrick Shepherd, Dugald Stewart and Alison, were daily giving the productions of their minds to the public, and while yet Archibald Constable acted as the unquestioned emperor of the publishing world."

In 1826 Robert published his "Popular Rhymes of Scotland," and the "Picture of Scotland," and shortly afterwards five volumes of Scottish history, for *Constable's Miscellany*. The brothers were now making money, and in tolerably prosperous circumstances, though they lost much of their hard-won savings by assisting their father in a piece of unsuccessful litigation.

About that time William produced the "Book of Scotland," a work describing the institutions of the country, for which he got £30, while Robert got £100 for preparing a "Gazetteer of Scotland;" and in 1832 William projected the great work which made the firm prosperous, and famous wherever the English language is spoken—*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*, the vanguard of all that is wholesome, sensible, and unsectarian in cheap literature, as it appeared six weeks before the *Penny Magazine*.

The first weekly number appeared on the 4th February, 1832. Robert thought the speculation a hazardous one, but William's courage achieved a

public victory, and in a few days the sale in Scotland alone was 50,000 copies, while No. 3 rose to 80,000 in the English market. Robert threw himself heart and soul into the successful periodical;

and speaking of partnership with him, his brother writes: "Such was the degree of mutual confidence between us that not for the space of twenty-one years was it thought expedient to execute any deed of agreement." While constantly contributing to the *Journal*, Robert, in 1835, completed his "Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen," in four volumes.

The brothers issued, in the preceding year, their "Information for the People," and after this venture, came a series of about a hundred school books—the "Chambers' Educational Course," still so familiar to many middle-class school-boys. While collecting information upon the subject of public education, William got together materials in 1839 for his "Tour in Holland and the Rhine Countries;"



ADVOCATES' CLOSE.

and about this time, twenty volumes of a series entitled "Chambers' Miscellany" were issued by the firm, which had an enormous circulation; but the great and crowning enterprise of Messrs. W. and R. Chambers was unquestionably their "Encyclopædia, or Dictionary of Universal Information for the People," a work begun in 1859 and completed in 1868—a work unrivalled by any in

Europe or America as a handy yet comprehensive book of ready reference, and of which the learned and ingenious Dr. Andrew Findlater acted as editor.

In 1849 William purchased the estate of Glenormiston, and ten years after made a valuable gift to his native town, in the form of a suite of buildings, including a public reading-room, a good library, lecture-hall, museum, and art gallery, designated the "Chambers Institution;" and in 1864 he issued his "History of Peebleshire," an able example of local annals. In 1865 he was elected Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and inaugurated the great architectural improvements set afoot in the more ancient parts of the city; and in 1872 the University conferred upon him the degree of LL.D.

In 1860-1 the brothers projected that important work which gave Robert Chambers his death-blow—"The Book of Days: a Miscellany of Popular Antiquities in connection with the Calendar, including Anecdote, Biography, History, Curiosities of Literature, &c., &c.," a large work, in two volumes of 840 pages each. Disappointed in promised literary aid, Robert was compelled to perform the greater part of this work alone, and during the winter of 1861-2 "he might be seen every day in the British Museum, working hard at this fatal book. The mental strain broke him down; domestic bereavements aggravated the effects of ill-health, and with it, though he lived to finish his 'Life of Smollett,' his literary career closed. He died at St. Andrews in the beginning of the year 1870."

William, however, was still full of intellectual vigour as when he handled the old printing press in his little shop in Leith Walk, and his pen was yet busy, and produced, in 1860, "The Youth's Companion and Counsellor;" in 1862, "Something of Italy;" in 1870, "Wintering at Mentone;" in 1871, "France, its History and Revolutions;" and, in 1872, an affectionate "Memoir" of his brother Robert, and "Ailie Gilroy," a simple and pathetic little story. But the bulk of his life-work had ended, and he died on May 20, 1883.

In reviewing the life of this eminent publisher, one may say that he so lived as to teach the world how the good old-fashioned commonplace virtues can be exalted into the loftiest range of moral heroism; that he left on record a grand and manly example of self-help, which time can never obliterate from the admiring memory of succeeding generations. Life was to him indeed a sacred trust, to be used for helping on the advancement of humanity, and for aiding the diffusion of knowledge. The moral to be drawn from his

biography is that, with manly self-trust, with high and noble aims, with fair education, and with diligence, a man may, no matter how poor he be at the outset of his career, struggle upwards and onwards to fill a high social position, and enjoy no ordinary share of earthly honours and possessions."

At the establishment of the Messrs. Chambers fully two hundred hands are constantly employed, and their premises in Warriston Close (which have also an entrance from the High Street) form one of the interesting sights in the city.

Lower down the Close stood a large and handsome house, having a Gothic niche at its entrance, which was covered with armorial bearings and many sorely obliterated inscriptions, of which only the fragment of one was traceable—*Gracia Dei Thomas T.* This was the town residence of Sir Thomas Craig of Riccarton, a man of eminent learning and great nobility of character, and who practised as a lawyer for fully forty years, during the stormy reigns of Mary and James VI. In 1564 he was made Justice Depute, and found time to give to the world some very able poems—one on the birth of James, and another on his departure for England, are preserved in the *Delitia Poetarum Scotorum*. He steadily refused the honour of knighthood, yet was always called Sir Thomas Craig, in conformity to a royal edict on the subject.

He wrote a treatise on the independent sovereignty of Scotland, which was rendered into wretched English by Ridpath, and published in 1675. He was Advocate for the Church, when he died at Edinburgh, on the 26th of February, 1608, and was succeeded in the old house, as well as his estate, by his eldest son, Sir Lewis Craig, born in 1569, and called to the bench in 1604, as Lord Wrightslands, while his father was still a pleader at the bar. After his time his house had as occupiers, first Sir George Urquhart of Cromarty, and next Sir Robert Baird, Bart., of Saughton Hall, who died in 1714.

But by far the most celebrated resider in this venerable alley was he who gave it the name it bears, Sir Archibald Johnston Lord Warriston, whose estate, still so named, lies eastward of Inverleith Row. The son of Johnston of Beirholm (once a merchant in Edinburgh), by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Craig (above mentioned), this celebrated lawyer, subtle statesman, and somewhat juggling politician, was called to the bar in 1633, and would appear to have purchased from his cousin, Sir Lewis Craig, a house in the close, adjoining his own.

In 1637 he began to take a prominent part in the bitter disputes of the period, and Bishop Bur-

net tells us that he was a man of such unflagging zeal that he barely allowed himself three hours' sleep out of the twenty-four. On the renewal of the Covenant, in 1638, he and the celebrated Alexander Henderson were appointed to revise and adapt that national document to the circumstances of the times; and at the memorable assembly which met at Glasgow Johnston was unanimously elected clerk, and was constituted Procurator for the Church. He took a prominent share in resisting the unjust interference of Charles I. in Scottish affairs, and in 1638, on the royal edict being proclaimed from the Cross of Edinburgh, which set at defiance the popular opposition to Episcopacy, he boldly appeared on the scaffold erected near it, and read aloud the famous protest drawn up in the name of the Tables, while the mob compelled the six royal heralds to remain while this counter-defiance in the name of Scotland was being read.

In 1641, when Charles visited Edinburgh for the second time, Johnston was knighted and made a Lord of Session, and after sitting in the Parliament of Scotland in 1644, he attended, as one of the Commissioners, the assembly of divines at Westminster. In the following year he was Lord Advocate; and in 1649 he performed one of his last official duties, proclaiming Charles II. King of Scotland, on the 5th of February, 1650.

After the battle of Dunbar he was weak enough to accept office under the Protectorate, as Clerk Registrar; and after the death of Cromwell he acted as one of the Committee of Public Safety, when the feeble and timid Richard Cromwell withdrew from public life; and this last portion of his career, together with the mode in which he had prosecuted and persecuted the fallen Cavaliers, and refused to concur in the treaty of Breda, sealed his doom when the Restoration came. He was forfeited in exile and condemned to death on the 15th of May, 1651.

An emissary of the Scottish ministry discovered his retreat at Rouen, and, with the aid of the French authorities, he was sent to the Tower, and from thence to Edinburgh, where, with every mark of indignity, he was publicly executed on the same spot where, five-and-twenty years before, he had defied the proclamation of Charles I. This was on the 22nd of July, 1663, and he died with the utmost constancy and Christian fortitude. And now the busy establishment of one of the most enterprising of Scottish publishing firms occupies the site of the old mansion, in which he must many a time have entertained such men as Alexander Henderson, the Marquises Argyle, Rothes, and Calander, the gallant Sir Alexander Leslie, the somewhat double-dealing Monk, perhaps Cromwell too.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### HIGH STREET (*continued*).

Mary King's Close—Who was Mary?—Scourged by the Plague of 1645—Its Mystery—Drummond's Epigram—Prof. Sinclair's "Satan's Invisible World Discovered"—Mr. and Mrs. Coltheart's Ghostly Visitors—The Close finally abandoned to Goblins—Craig's Close—Andro Hart, Bookseller and Printer—Andro's Spear—A Menagerie in Craig's Close—The Isle of Man Arms—The Cape Club—Its Mysteries and Officers—Installation of a Knight—Provincial Cape Clubs—The Poker Club—How it Originated—Members—Office-bearers—Old Stamp Office Court—Fortune's Tavern—The beautiful Countess of Eglinton—Her Patronage of Letters—Her Family—Interview with Dr. Johnson—Murderous Riot in the Close—Removal of the Stamp Office.

MARY KING'S Close was long a place of terror to the superstitious, as one of the last retreats of the desolating plague of 1645. "Who. Mary King was is now unknown, but though the alley is roofless and ruined," says one, writing of it in 1845, "with weeds, wall-flowers, grass, and even little trees, flourishing luxuriantly among the falling walls, her name may still be seen painted on the street corner."

For some generations after the plague—in which most of its inhabitants perished—its houses remained closed, and gradually it became a place of mystery and horror, the abode of a thousand spectres and nameless terrors, for superstitious people, it with inhabitants, whom all feared and none cared to

succeed. "Those who had been foolhardy enough to peep through the windows after nightfall saw the spectres of the long-departed denizens engaged in their wonted occupations; headless forms danced through the moonlit apartments; on one occasion a godly minister and two pious elders were scared out of their senses by the terrible vision of a raw head and blood-dripping arm, which protruded from the wall in this terrible street, and flourished a sword above their heads; and many other terrors, which are duly chronicled in 'Satan's Invisible World,' yet it was down this place that the wild young Master of Gray dragged the fair Mistress Carnegie, whom, sword in hand, he had abducted from her father's house at the head of twelve men-at

arms, and took her by boat across the loch that rippled at the foot of the slope.

In Drummond of Hawthornden's poems, published by the Maitland Club, there is an epigram on Mary King's "pest":—

"Turn, citizens, to God; repent, repent,  
And pray your bedlam frenzies may relent;  
Think not rebellion a trifling thing,  
This plague doth fight for *Mary* and the *King*."

An old gentleman, says Wilson, has often described to us his visits to Mary King's Close, along with his companions, when a schoolboy. The most courageous of them would approach these dread abodes of mystery, and after shouting through the keyhole or broken window-shutter, they would run off with palpitating hearts; the popular superstition being, that if these long-deserted abodes were opened, the deadly pest imprisoned there would once more burst forth and desolate the land.

Mr. George Sinclair, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and afterwards minister of Eastwood in Renfrewshire, by the publication, in 1685, of his work, "*Satan's Invisible World Discovered*," did much to add to the terrors of Mary King's Close, by his account of apparitions seen therein, and recorded "by witnesses of undoubted veracity"—a work long hawked about the streets by the itinerant sellers of gingerbread. The last, or northern portion of the close, with its massive vaulted lower storeys, was an open ruin in 1845; the south, or upper, had fallen into ruin after a fire in 1750, and was in that condition when a portion of the site was required for the west side of the Royal Exchange, three years after.

It would appear from the Professor's narrative, that Mr. Thomas Coltheart, a respectable law agent, whose legal business had begun to flourish, took a better style of house in Mary King's Close. Their maid-servant was, of course, duly warned by obliging neighbours that the house was *haunted*, and in terror she gave up her situation and fled, leaving Mr. and Mrs. Coltheart, to face whatever they might see, alone.

Accordingly, it came to pass that, when the lady had seated herself by the bedside of her gudeman, who, being slightly indisposed on the Sunday afternoon, had lain down to rest, while she read the Scriptures, chancing to look up, she saw to her intense dismay a human head, apparently that of an old man, with a grey floating beard, suspended in mid-air, at a little distance, and gazing intently at her with elfish eyes. She swooned at this ter-

rible sight, and remained insensible till the neighbours returned from church. Her husband strove to reason her out of her credulity, and the evening passed without further trouble; but they had not been long in bed when he himself espied the same phantom head by the fire-light, floating in mid-air, and eyeing him with ghostly eyes.

He lighted a candle, and betook him to prayer, but with little effect, for in about an hour the bodiless phantom was joined by that of a child, also suspended in mid-air, and this was followed by an arm, naked from the elbow, which, in defiance of all Coltheart's prayers and pious interjections, seemed bent on shaking hands with him and his wife!

In the most solemn way the luckless lawyer conjured these phantoms to entrust him with the story of any wrongs they wished righted; but all to no purpose. The old tenants evidently regarded the new as intruders, and others came to their aid, for the naked arm was joined by a spectral dog, which curled itself up in a chair, and went to sleep; and then came a cat, and many other creatures, but of grotesque and monstrous forms, till the whole room swarmed with them, so that the honest couple were compelled to kneel on their bed, there being no standing room on the floor; till suddenly, with a deep and awful groan, as of a strong man dying in agony, the whole vanished, and Mr. and Mrs. Coltheart found themselves alone.

In those days of superstition, Mr. Coltheart—if we are to believe Professor Sinclair—must have been a man of more than ordinary courage, for he continued to reside in this terrible house till the day of his death, without further molestation; but when that day came, it would seem not to have been unaccompanied by the supernatural. At the moment he expired, a gentleman, whose friend and law agent he was, while asleep in bed beside his wife, at Tranent, ten miles distant, was roused by the nurse, who had been terrified "by something like a cloud moving about the room."

Starting up with the first instinct of a Scot in those days, he seized his sword to defend himself, when "the something" gradually assumed the form and face of a man, who looked at him pale and ghastly, and in whom he recognised his friend Thomas Coltheart.

"Are you dead, and if so, what is your errand?" he demanded, despite his fears, on which the apparition shook its head twice and melted away. Proceeding at once to Edinburgh, the ghost-seer went direct to the house of his friend in Mary King's Close, and found the wife of the former in tears for the recent death of her husband. This ac-

count—a very common kind of ghost story—we are told, was related by the minister (of course) who was in the house on this occasion, to John Duke of Lauderdale (who died in 1682), in presence of many other nobles. After this the house was again deserted; yet another attempt was made to inhabit it—probably rent-free—by a courageous and drink-loving old soldier and his wife; but towards midnight the candle began to burn blue, and the grisly old head was seen to hover in mid-air, on which the terrified couple fled, and Mary King's Close was finally abandoned to desolation and decay. No record of its inmates in the flesh has ever been handed down, and thus the name of the place is associated with its goblins alone.

Professor Sinclair, who wrote the history of these, was author of several very learned works on astronomy, navigation, mathematics, and so forth; but he also favoured the world with a strange "Discourse concerning Coal"—a compound of science and superstition, containing an account of the witches of Glenluce, Sinclair being, like many other learned men of his time, a firm believer in the black art.

Passing Writers' Court and the Royal Exchange, both of which have been already described, we come to the once famous alley, Craig's Close, the lower end of which, like the rest of such thoroughfares in this quarter, has been removed to make way for Cockburn Street.

The old tenement which faces the High Street at the head of this close occupies the site of the open booth or shop of Andro Hart, the famous old Scottish printer; and therein was, of course, exposed for sale his well known Bible, which has always been admired for its beautiful typography; his Barbour's "Bruce," his "Psalms in Scottish

Meter," and other works that issued from his press. He flourished in the reign of James VI., and previous to 1600 he was in the habit of importing books from the Continent; but about 1601 he printed, at his own expense, several works in Holland; and subsequently commenced business as a printer in those premises in the High Street which, two centuries after his death in 1621, became the residence of the great bibliophile, Provost Creech, and of that still greater one, Archibald Constable.

A little way down the close on the east side was the printing-house of Andro Hart, a picturesque and substantial stone tenement, with finely moulded windows divided by mullions, and having the Sinclair arms on the bed-corbel of the crow-stepped gable.

Over the old doorway was the legend and date, "*My hope is in Christ, A. S. M. K., 1593*," under a label moulding. In 1828 there was presented to the Antiquarian Museum by Mr. Hutchison, printer, a very fine Scottish spear, which had been preserved from time immemorial in the old printing-house of Andro Hart, and is confidently believed to have been his—perhaps the same weapon with which he sallied forth to take part in the great tumult of 1596, when the king was besieged in the Tol-



STAMP OFFICE CLOSE.

booth; for Calderwood and others distinctly tell us that the old printer was one of the foremost in the disturbance, and roused so much the indignation of the king, James VI., that he was sent prisoner to the Castle in February, 1597, together with two other booksellers, James and Edward Cathkin.

In 1759 a dromedary and camel were exhibited at the head of Craig's Close, where they seem to have been deemed two wonders of the world, and, according to the *Edinburgh Herald and Chronicle* for that year, it was doubted whether there were other



"two such animals in the whole island of Great Britain."

Between the back and front tenements occupied of old by Andro Hart is a house, once a famous tavern, which formed the meeting-place of the Cape Club, one of the most noted of those wherein the leading men of "Auld Reekie" were wont to seek relaxation—one celebrated in Fergusson's poem on the city, and where a system of "high jinks" was kept up with an ardour that never abated.

In this tavern, then, the *Isle of Man Arms*, kept by James Mann, in Craig's Close, the "Cape Club" was nightly inaugurated, each member receiving on his election some grotesque name and character, which he was expected to retain and maintain for the future. From its minutes, which are preserved in the Antiquarian Museum, the club appears to have been formally constituted in 1764, though it had existed long before. Its insignia were a cape, or crown, worn by the *Sovereign of the Cape* on State occasions, when certain other members wore badges, or jewels of office, and two maces in the form of huge steel pokers, engraved with mottoes, and still preserved in Edinburgh, formed the sword and sceptre of the King in Cape Hall, when the jovial fraternity met for high jinks, and Tom Lancashire the comedian, Robert Fergusson the poet, David Herd, Alexander Runciman, Jacob More, Walter Ross the antiquary, Gavin Wilson the poetical shoemaker, the Laird of Cardrona a *bon vivant* of the last century, Sir Henry Raeburn, and, strange to say, the notorious Deacon Brodie, met round the "flowing bowl."

Tom Lancashire—on whom Fergusson wrote a witty epitaph—was the first sovereign of the club after 1764, as Sir Cape, while the title of Sir Poker belonged to its oldest member, James Aitken. David Herd, the ingenious collector of Scottish ballad poetry, succeeded Lancashire (who was a celebrated comedian in his day), under the sobriquet of Sir Scrape, having as secretary Jacob More, who attained fame, as a landscape painter in Rome; and doubtless his pencil and that of Runciman, produced many of the illustrations and caricatures with which the old MS. books of the club abound.

When a knight of the Cape was inaugurated he was led forward by his sponsors, and kneeling before the sovereign, had to grasp the poker, and take an oath of fidelity, the knights standing by uncovered:—

"I devoutly swear by this light,  
To be a true and faithful knight,  
With all my might,  
Both day and night,  
So help me Poker!"

The knights presented his Majesty with a contribution of 100 guineas to assist in raising troops in 1778. The entrance-fee to this amusing club was originally half-a-crown, and eventually it rose to a guinea; but so economical were the members, that among the last entries in their minutes was one to the effect that the suppers should be at "the old price" of 4½d. a head. Lancashire the comedian, leaving the stage, seems to have eked out a meagre subsistence by opening in the Canongate a tavern, where he was kindly patronised by the knights of the Cape, and they subsequently paid him visits at "Comedy Hut, New Edinburgh," a place of entertainment which he opened somewhere beyond the bank of the North Loch; and soon after this convivial club—one of the many wherein grave citizens and learned counsellors cast aside their powdered wigs, and betook them to what may now seem mad-cap revelry in great contrast to the rigid decorum of every-day life—passed completely away; but a foot-note to Wilson's "Memorials" informs us that "Provincial Cape Clubs, deriving their authority and diplomas from the parent body, were successively formed in Glasgow, Manchester, and London, and in Charleston, South Carolina, each of which was formally established in virtue of a royal commission granted by the Sovereign of the Cape. The American off-shoot of this old Edinburgh fraternity is said to be still flourishing in the Southern States."

In the "Life of Lord Kames," by Lord Woodhouselee, we have an account of the Poker Club, which held its meetings near this spot, at "our old landlord of the *Diversorium*, Tom Nicholson's, near the cross. The dinner was on the table at two o'clock; we drank the best claret and sherry; and the reckoning was punctually called at six o'clock. After the first fifteen, who were chosen by nomination, the members were elected by ballot, and two black balls excluded a candidate."

A political question—on the expediency of establishing a Scottish militia (while Charles Edward and Cardinal York were living in Rome)—divided the Scottish public mind greatly between 1760 and 1762, and gave rise to the club in the latter year, and it subsisted in vigour and celebrity till 1784, and continued its weekly meetings with great regularity, long after the object of its institution had ceased to engage attention; and it can scarcely be doubted that its influence was considerable in fostering talent and promoting elegant literature in Edinburgh, though the few publications of a literary nature that had been published under the auspices of the club were, like most of that nature, ephemeral, and are now utterly forgotten.

The only publication of sterling merit which enlivened the occasion that called it forth was "The History in the Proceedings of Margaret, commonly called Peg," written in imitation of Dr. Arbuthnot's "History of John Bull." In the memoirs of Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk an amusing account is given of the Poker Club, of which he was a zealous and constant attender. About the third or fourth meeting of the club, after 1762, he mentions that members were at a loss for a name for it, and wished one that should be of uncertain meaning, and not so directly offensive as that of Militia Club, whereupon Adam Ferguson, the eminent historian and moral philosopher, suggested the name of Poker, which the members understood, and which would "be an enigma to the public."

It comprehended all the *literati* of Edinburgh and its neighbourhood, most of whom—like Robertson, Blair, and Hume—had been members of the select society (those only excepted who were enemies to the Scottish militia scheme), together with a great many country gentlemen whose national and Jacobite proclivities led them to resent the invidious line drawn between Scotland and England.

Sir William Pulteney Johnston was secretary of the Poker Club, with two members, whom he was to consult anent its publications in a laughing hour. "Andrew Crosbie, advocate, was appointed *assassin* to the club, in case any service of that sort should be needed; but David Hume was named for his assistant, so that between the plus and minus there was no hazard of much bloodshed."

After a time the club removed its meetings to Fortune's Tavern, at the *Cross Keys*, in the Stamp Office Close, where the dinners became so showy and expensive that attendance began to decrease, and new members came in "who had no title to be there, and were not congenial" (the common fate of all clubs generally) "and so by death and desertion the Poker began to dwindle away, though a bold attempt was made to revive it in 1787 by some young men of talent and spirit." When Captain James Edgar, one of the original Pokers, was in Paris in 1773, during the flourishing time of the club, he was asked by D'Alembert to go with him to their club of *literati*, to which he replied with something of bluntness, "that the company of *literati* was no novelty to him, for he had a club at Edinburgh composed, he believed, of the ablest men in Europe. This" (adds Dr. Carlyle, whose original MS. Lord Kames quoted) "was no singular opinion; for the most enlightened foreigners had formed the same estimate of the literary society of Edinburgh at that time. The Princess Dashkoff, disputing with me one day at Buxton about the

superiority of Edinburgh as a residence to most of the cities of Europe, when I had alleged various particulars, in which I thought we excelled, 'No,' said she, 'but I know *one* article you have not mentioned in which I must give you clearly the precedence, which is, that of all the societies of men of talent I have met with in my travels, yours is the first in point of abilities.'"

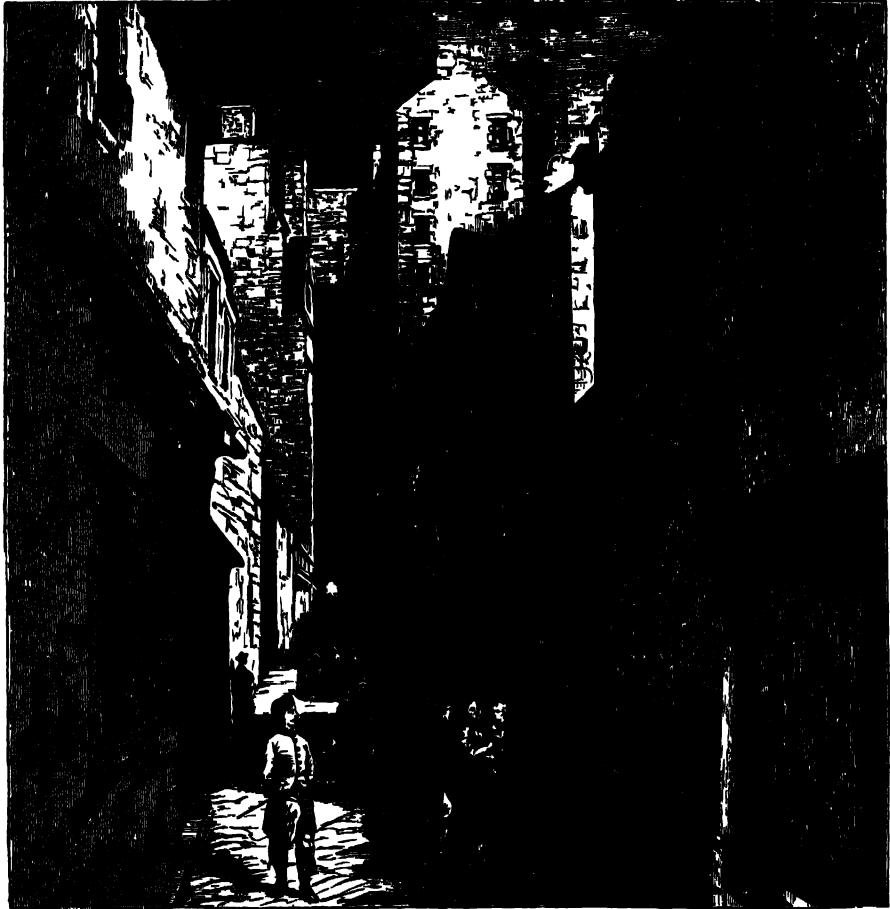
A few steps farther down the street bring us to the entrance of the Old Stamp Office Close, wherein was the tavern just referred to, Fortune's, one in the greatest vogue between 1760 and 1770. "The gay men of the city," we are told, "the scholarly and the philosophical, with the common citizens, all flocked hither; and here the Royal Commissioner for the General Assembly held his *levées*, and hence proceeded to church with his *cortège*, then additionally splendid from having ladies walking in it in their court dresses, as well as gentlemen."

The house occupied by this famous tavern had been in former times the residence of Alexander ninth Earl of Eglinton, and his Countess Susanna Kennedy of the house of Colzean, reputed the most beautiful woman of her time.

From the magnificent but privately printed "Memorials of the Montgomeries," we learn many interesting particulars of this noble couple, who dwelt in the Old Stamp Office Close. Whether their abode there was the same as that stated, of which we have an inventory, in the time of Hugh third Earl of Eglinton, "at his house in Edinburgh, 3rd March, 1563," given in the "Memorials," we have no means of determining. Earl Alexander was one of those patriarchal old Scottish lords who lived to a great age. He was thrice married, and left a progeny whose names are interspersed throughout the pages of the Douglas peerage. His last Countess, Susanna, was the daughter of Sir Archibald Kennedy, a sturdy old cavalier, who made himself conspicuous in the wars of Dundee. She was one of the co-heiresses of David Leslie Lord Newark, the Covenanting general whom Cromwell defeated at Dunbar. She was six feet in height, extremely handsome, with a brilliantly fair complexion, and a face of "the most bewitching loveliness." She had many admirers, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik among others; but her friends had always hoped she would marry the Earl of Eglinton, though he was more than old enough to have been her father, and when a stray hawk, with his lordship's name on its bells, alighted on her shoulder as she was one day walking in her father's garden at Colzean, it was deemed an infallible omen of her future.

The death of his second countess left the earl free to win the prize and fulfil the nursery predictions "Admirers of a youthful, impassioned, and sonnet making cast might have trembled at his approach to the shrine of their divinity, for his lordship was one of those titled suitors who,

lifetime, it is not surprising that many interesting particulars concerning her have been preserved and handed down to us. She had a grace and bearing all her own, hence the Eglinton *air* and the Eglinton manner were long proverbial in Edinburgh after she had passed away. Her seven



FISHMARKET CLOSE (From a sketch by J. G. Macdonald, 1845)

however old and horrible, are never rejected except in novels and romances,' and though Sir John Clerk had declared his passion, he did so in vain, and his lovely Susanna became Countess of Eglinton about the year of the Union.

To the charms of her personal appearance were added the more powerful attractions of genius and great accomplishments. Possessing these, in the elevated position which she occupied during a long

lifetime, it was indeed a goodly sight to see the long procession of eight gilded sedans issue from the Stamp Office Close bearing her and her stately brood to the Assembly Room, amid a crowd that was hushed with respect and admiration, "to behold their lofty and graceful figures step from the chairs on the pavement. It could not fail to be a remarkable sight—eight singularly beautiful women, conspicuous

for their stature and carriage, all dressed in the splendid, though formal, fashions of that period, and inspired at once with dignity of birth and consciousness of beauty! Alas! such visions no longer illuminate the dark tortuosities of Auld Reekie!"

By his three countesses the Earl had twelve daughters, and he was beginning to despair of an heir to his title, when one was born to him. He died in 1729. Shortly before his death he wrote a

under the misery and slavery of being united to England, a Scotsman, without prostituting his honour, can obtain nothing by following a Court but bring his estate under debt, and consequently himself to necessity."

The Countess was a great patron of authors. Boyse dedicated his poems to her, as Allan Ramsay did his "Gentle Shepherd," and in doing so enlarged in glowing terms upon the virtues of his patroness.



SUSANNA, COUNTESS OF EGLINTON

(From the Portrait in the 'Memoirs of the Montgomeries')

letter to his son, the tenth Earl, in which he advised him never to marry an Englishwoman, and wherein the following passage occurs —

"You came to live at a time, my chiefest care, when the right to these kingdoms comes to be a question betwixt the House of Hanover, in possession, and the descendants of King James. You are, in my poor opinion, not to intermeddle with either, but live abstractly at home, managing your affairs to the best advantage, and living in a good understanding with your friends, for since we are

"If it were not for offending your ladyship here, I might give the fullest liberty to my muse, to delineate the finest of women by drawing your ladyship's character, and be in no hazard of being deemed a flatterer, since flattery lies not in paying what is due to merit, but in praises misplaced."

William Hamilton of Bangour, an elegant poet and accomplished man, had recommended Allan Ramsay to her notice in an address, in which he eulogises her and her daughters. After referring to

the evil passions indulged in by many, Hamilton draws the contrast thus :—

"Unlike, O Eglintoun ! thy happy breast,  
Calm and serene, enjoys the heavenly guest ;  
From the tumultuous rule of passions freed,  
Pure in thy thought and spotless in thy deed ;  
In virtues rich, in goodness unconfined,  
Thou shin'st a fair example to thy kind ;  
Sincere and equal to thy neighbour's name,  
How swift to praise ! how guiltless to defame !  
Bold in thy presence bashfulness appears,  
And backward merit loses all its fears.  
Supremely blest by Heaven—Heaven's richest grace  
Conferst is thine, an early blooming race ;  
Whose pleasing smiles shall guardian wisdom arm,  
Divine instruction ! taught of thee to charm ;  
What transports shall they to thy soul impart  
(The conscious transports of a parent's heart),  
When thou behold'st them of each grace possent,  
And sighing youths imploring to be blest ;  
After thy image formed, with charms like thine,  
Or in the visit, or the dance to shine !  
Thrice happy who succeed their mother's praise,  
The lovely Eglintounes of other days."

Save Lady Frances, all her daughters were well married ; but her eldest son, Earl Alexander, was her especial favourite. In his youth, she said, she preserved the goodness of his nature by keeping his mind pure and untainted, and giving him just ideas of moral life. She is said never to have refused him a request but once. On the accession of George III. to the throne, the young earl was appointed one of the lords of the bedchamber. Proud of his stately mother and of her noble figure, he begged that she would walk in the procession at his Majesty's coronation ; but the Countess—a true Jacobite—excused herself, that she was too old to wear robes now. His melancholy death at the hands of Mungo Campbell, in 1769, well nigh overwhelmed her. Indeed, she never entirely recovered from the shock of seeing her beloved son borne home mortally wounded.

During Dr. Johnson's visit to her, it came out that she was married before he was born ; upon which she smartly and graciously said to him that she might have been his mother, and now adopted him ; and at parting she embraced him, a mark of affection and condescension which made a lasting impression upon the mind of the great literary bear. In 1780 she died at Auchans, at the age of ninety-one, preserving to the last her grandeur of mien and her marvellous purity of complexion, a mystery to all the women of her time, and the secret of which was said to be that she periodically bathed her face with *sour's*

*milk* ! "I have seen a portrait," says Chambers, "taken in her eighty-first year, in which it is observable that her skin is of exquisite delicacy and tint. Altogether the Countess was a woman of ten thousand ! . . . One last trait may now be recorded : in her ladyship's bedroom was hung a portrait of her sovereign *de jure*, the ill-starred Charles Edward, so situated as to be the first object which met her sight on awaking in the morning."

With the state levées of the old Earl of Leven as High Commissioner at Fortune's tavern the ancient glories of the Stamp Office Close faded away ; but an unwonnted spectacle was exhibited at the head thereof in 1812—a public execution.

On the night of the 31st December, 1811, a band of young artisans and idlers, most of them under twenty years of age, but so numerous and so well organised as to set the regular police of the city at defiance, sallied forth, about eleven o'clock, into the streets, then crowded as usual at that festive season, and proceeded with bludgeons to knock down and rob every person of decent appearance who fell in their way—the least symptom on the part of the victims to resist, or protect their property, proving only a provocation to fresh outrages. These desperadoes had full possession of the streets till two in the morning, for the police, who at that period were wretchedly insufficient, were routed and dispersed from the commencement of the murderous riot.

One watchman, who did his duty in a resolute manner, was killed on the spot ; a great number of persons were robbed, and a greater number dangerously, some mortally, wounded. When the police recovered from their surprise, assisted by several gentlemen, a number of the rioters were arrested, some with stolen articles in their possession, and the chief ringleaders were soon after discovered and taken into custody.

Four were tried and convicted ; and three of these young lads were sentenced to be hanged. The magistrates had them executed on the 22nd of April, 1812, on a gallows erected at the head of the Stamp Office Close, in order to mark more impressively the detestation of their crimes, and because that place had been the chief scene of the bloodshed during the riot.

A small work entitled "Notes of Conversations," with these young desperadoes, was afterwards published by the Reverend W. Innes.

In 1821 the Stamp Office was removed from this close to the new buildings erected at Waterloo Place.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

The Anchor Close—Dawney Douglas's Tavern—The "Crown Room"—The Crochallan Club—Members—Burns among the Crochallan Fencibles—Smellie's Printing Office—Dundas's House, Fishmarket Close—Mylne's Square—Lord Alva's House—The Countess of Sutherland and Lady Glenorchy—Birthplace of Fergusson—Halkerton's Wynd Port—Kinloch's Close—Carrubber's Close—The Episcopal Chapel—Clam Shell Land—Capt. Matthew Henderson—Allan Ramsay's Theatre—Its later Tenants—The Tailor's Hall—Baillie Fyfe's Close—"Heave awa, lads, I'm no deid yet"—Chalmers' Close—Hope's House—Sandilands' Close—Bishop Kennedy's House—Grant's Close—Baron Grant's House.

ONE of the most interesting of the many old alleys of the High Street (continuing still on the north side thereof) is the Anchor Close.

A few yards down this dark and narrow thoroughfare bring us to the entrance of a scale-stair, having the legend, *The Lord is only my support*; adjoining it is another and older door, inscribed *O. Lord. in. the. is. al. my. traist*; while an architrave bears a line from a psalm, *Be merciful to me*, under which we enter what was of old the famous festive and hospitable tavern of Daniel, or, as he was familiarly named by the Hays, Erskines, Pleydells, and Crosbies, who were his customers, Dawney Douglas, an establishment second to none in its time for convivial meetings, and noted for suppers of tripe, mince collops, rizzared haddocks, and fragrant hashes, that never cost more than sixpence a-head; yet on charges so moderate Dawney Douglas and his gudewife contrived to grow extremely rich before they died. Who caused the three holy legends to be carved, as in many other instances, no man knows, nor can one tell who resided here of old, except that it was in the seventeenth century the house of a senator entitled Lord Forglen. "The frequenter of Douglas's," we are told, "after ascending a few steps, found himself in a pretty large kitchen, through which numerous ineffable ministers of flame were continually flying about, while beside the door sat the landlady, a large, fat woman, in a towering head-dress and large-flowered silk gown, who bowed to every one passing. Most likely, on emerging from this igneous region, the party would fall into the hands of Dawney himself, and be conducted to an apartment."

He was a little, thin, weak, quiet, and submissive man; in all things a contrast to his wife.

Here met the famous club called the Crochallan Fencibles, which Burns has celebrated both in prose and verse, and to which he was introduced in 1787 by William Smellie, when in the city superintending the printing of his poems, and when, according to custom, one of the club was pitted against him in a contest of wit and humour. Burns bore the assault with perfect equanimity, and entered fully into the spirit of the meeting.

Dawney Douglas knew a sweet old Gaelic song, called "Cro Chalien," or, Colin's cattle, which he was wont to sing to his customers, and this led to

the establishment of the club, which, with jocular reference to the many Scottish corps then raising, was named the Crochallan Fencibles, composed entirely of men of original character and talent. Each member took some military title or ludicrous office. Amongst them was Smellie, the famous printer, and author of the "Philosophy of Natural History." Individuals committing an alleged fault were subjected to mock trials, in which those members who were advocates could display their wit; and as one member was the *depute hangman* of the club, a little horse-play, with much mirth, at times prevailed.

The song of "Cro Chalien" had a legend connected therewith. Colin's wife died very young, but some months after he had buried her she was occasionally seen in the gloaming, when spirits are supposed to appear, milking her cows as usual, and singing the plaintive song to which Burns must often have listened amid the orgies in the Anchor Close.

In Dawney's tavern the chief room was rather elegant and well-sized, having an access by the second of the doors described, and was reserved for large companies or important guests. *Par excellence*, it was named the "Crown Room," and was thus distinguished to guests on their bill tops, from some foolish and unwarrantable tradition that Queen Mary had once been there, when the crown was deposited in a niche in the wall. It was handsomely panelled, with a decorated fireplace and two lofty windows that opened to the close; but all this has disappeared now, and new buildings erected in 1869 have replaced the old.

Here, then, was Burns introduced to the jovial Crochallans, among whom were such men as Erskine, Lords Newton and Gillies, by Smellie the philosopher and printer who contested with Dr. Walker the chair of natural history in the University; and of one member, William Dunbar, W.S., "Colonel" of the club, a predominant wit, he has left us a characteristic picture:—

"Oh, rattlin', roarin' Willie,  
Oh, he held to the fair,  
An' for to sell his fiddle,  
And buy some other ware;  
But parting wi' his fiddle,  
The saut tear blin' his ee;  
And rattlin', roarin' Willie,  
Ye're welcome hame to me!

"O Willie, come sell your fiddle,  
Oh sell your fiddle sae fine;  
O Willie, come sell your fiddle,  
And buy a pint o' wine.  
If I should sell my fiddle,  
The warl' would think I was mad,

For mony a rantin' day  
My fiddle and I hae had.

"As I cam by Crochallan,  
I cannily keekit ben—  
Rattlin', roarin' Willie,  
Was sitting at yon board  
en'—  
Sitting at yon board en',  
And amang guid com-  
panie;  
Rattlin', roarin' Willie,  
You're welcome hame to  
me!"

In verse elsewhere Burns notes the peculiarities of his introducer, who had become, in middle life, careless of his costume and appearance:—

"Shrewd Willie Smellie to Crochallan came,  
The old cocked hat, the grey surcoat the same;  
His bristling beard just rising in its might;  
'Twas four long nights and days to shaving night."

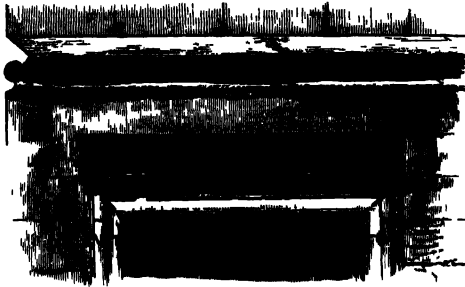
At the foot of the close there stood, till 1859, the printing office of this strange genius (who died in 1795), "and there the most eminent literary men of that period visited and superintended the printing of works that have made the press of the Scottish capital celebrated throughout Europe. There was the haunt of Dr. Blair, Beattie, Black, Robertson, Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, Lords Monboddo, Hailes, Kames, Henry Mackenzie, Arnot, Hume, and foremost among the host, the poet Burns."

Here was long shown an old time-blackened desk, at which these, and other men such as these, revised their proofs, and a stool on which Burns sat while correcting the proofs of his poems published between December, 1786, and April, 1787.

Lower down the close, over the doorway of a house where the Bill Chamber stood for several generations, were carved the date, 1616, and the initials

W.R.—C.M.; and the house immediately below it contained the only instance known to exist in Edinburgh of a legend over an interior doorway:

AUGUSTA. AD. V SVM. AVGVSTA.  
W. F. B. G.



LINTEL OF DOORWAY IN DAWNEY DOUGLAS'S TAVERN.  
(From a Sketch by the Author.)

These were the initials of William Fowler, a merchant burghess of Edinburgh, supposed to be the author of "The Triumph of Death," and the others are, of course, those of his wife. As to what this house was originally nothing is known, and the peculiarity of the legend has been a puzzle to many.

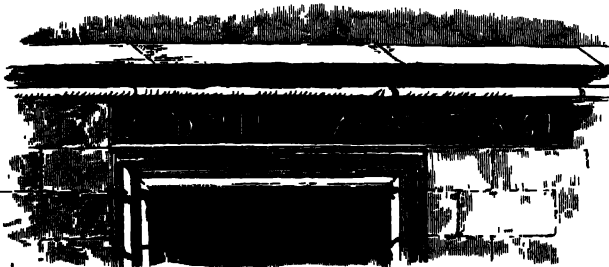
Later it was the residence of Sir George Drummond, who in 1683 and 1684 was Lord Provost of the city. In those days the lower ground that sloped down to the North Loch appears to have been all laid out in pleasant gardens, wherein stood a summer-house belonging to Lord Forglen, who was Sir Alexander Ogilvie, Bart., a commissioner for the Treaty of Union, and who was accused by Sir Alexander Forbes of Tolquhoun of stealing a gilded drinking-cup out of his house, a mistake, as it proved, in the end.

Eastward of this were, in succession, Geddes's, Jackson's, and the Flesh-market Closes. At the head of the last Close, the third flat of an old land, Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, began to practise as an advocate.

Adjoining this is Mylne's

Square, the entrance to which bears the date of 1689, a lofty and gloomy court, having on its side a flight of steps to the North Bridge. This—the project of one of the famous masonic family of Mylne—was among the first improvements effected in the old town, before its contented burghesses became aspiring, and dreamt of raising a New Edinburgh, beyond the oozy bed of the bordering loch. Many distinguished people lived here of old.

Among them was Charles Erskine of Alva, Lord



LINTEL OF DOORWAY, DAWNEY DOUGLAS'S TAVERN.  
(From a Sketch by the Author.)

Justice Clerk in 1748, who long occupied two flats on the west side of the square, the back windows of which overlook the picturesque vista of Cockburn Street, and the door of which was among the last that displayed the ancient *resp.*

This cadet of the loyal and ancient house of

Wily old Simon Lord Lovat, of the '45, who was perpetually involved in law pleas, frequently visited Lord Alva at his house in Mylne's Square; and the late Mrs. Campbell of Monzie, his daughter, was wont to tell that when Lord Lovat caught her in the stair "he always took her up



MYLNE'S SQUARE.

Mar was born in 1680, and died in 1763. Before the rise of the new city, it affords us a curious glimpse of the contented life that such a legal dignitary led in those days, when we find him happy during winter in a double flat, in this obscure place, and in summer at the little villa of Drumsheugh, swept away in 1877, and of which no relic now remains, save the rookery with its old trees in Randolph Crescent.

in his arms and kissed her, to her horror—he was so ugly."

In this mansion in Mylne's Square Lord Alva's two step-daughters, the Misses Maxwell of Reston, were married; one, Mary, became the Countess of William Earl of Sutherland, a captain in the 56th Foot, who, when France threatened invasion in 1759, raised, in two months, a regiment among his own clan and followers; the



other, Wilhelmina, became the wife of John Lord Glenorchy.

The fate of the Earl of Sutherland, and of his countess, whose beauty excited the admiration of all at the coronation of George III., was a very cloudy one. In frolicking with their first-born, a daughter, the earl let the infant drop, and it sustained injuries from which it never recovered, and the event had so serious an effect on his mind, that he resorted to Bath, where he died of a malignant fever. For twenty-one days the countess, then about to have a babe again, attended him unremittingly, till she too caught the distemper, and pre-deceased him by a few days, in her twenty-sixth year. Her death was sedulously concealed from him, yet the day before he expired, when delirium passed away, he said, "I am going to join my dear wife," as if his mind had already begun to penetrate the veil that hangs between this world and the next.

In one grave in Holyrood, near the north-east corner of the ruined chapel, the remains of this ill-fated couple were laid, on the 9th of August, 1766.

Lady Glenorchy, a woman remarkable for the piety of her disposition, was far from happy in her marriage; but we are told that "she met with her rich reward, even in this world, for she enjoyed the applause of the wealthy and the blessings of the poor, with that supreme of all pleasures—the conviction that the eternal welfare of those in whose fate she was chiefly interested was forwarded by her precepts and example."

In after years, the Earl of Hopetoun, when acting as Royal Commissioner to the General Assembly, was wont to hold his state levées in the house that had been Lord Alva's.

To the east of Mylne's Square stood some old alleys which were demolished to make way for the North Bridge, one of the greatest local undertakings of the eighteenth century. One of these alleys was known as the Cap and Feather Close, immediately above Halkerston's Wynd. The lands that formed the east side of the latter were remaining in some places almost intact till about 1850.

In one of these, but which it was impossible to say, was born on the 5th of September, 1750, that luckless but gifted child of genius, Robert Fergusson, the poet, whose father was then a clerk in the British Linen Company; but even the site of his house, which has peculiar claims on the interest of every lover of Scottish poetry, cannot be indicated.

How Halkerston's Wynd obtained its name we have already told. Here was an outlet from the

ancient city by way of a dam or dyke across the loch, to which Lord Fountainhall refers in a case dated 21st February, 1708. About twenty years before that time it would appear that the Town Council "had opened a new port at the foot of Halkerston's Wynd for the convenience of those who went on foot to Leith; and that Robert Malloch, having acquired some lands on the other side of the North Loch, and made yards and built houses thereon, and also having invited sundry weavers and other good tradesmen to set up on Moutree's Hill [site of the Register House], and the deacons of crafts finding this prejudicial to them, and contrary to the 154th Act of Parliament, 1592," evading which, these craftsmen paid neither "scot, lot, nor stent," the magistrates closed up the port, and a law plea ensued between them and the enterprising Robert Malloch, who was accused of filling up a portion of the bank of the loch with soil from a quarry. "The town, on the other hand, did stop the vent and passage over the loch, which made it overflow and drown Robert's new acquired ground, of which he complained as an act of oppression."

Eventually the magistrates asserted that the loch was wholly theirs, and "that therefore he could drain no part of it, especially to make it regorge and inundate on their side. The Lords were going to take trial by examining the witnesses, but the magistrates prevented it, by opening the said port of their own accord, without abiding an order, and let the sluice run," by which, of course, the access by the gate was rendered useless.

Kinloch's Close adjoined Halkerston's Wynd, and therein, till about 1830, stood a handsome old substantial tenement, the origin and early occupants of which were all unknown. A mass of curious and abutting projections, the result of its peculiar site, it had a finely-carved entrance door, with the legend, *Feir. God. in. Luif.*, 1595, and the initials I. W., and the arms of the surname of Williamson, together with a remarkable device, a saltire, from the centre of which rose a cross—symbol of passion.

Passing Allan Ramsay's old shop, a narrow bend gives us access to Carrubber's Close, the last stronghold of the faithful Jacobites after 1688. Episcopacy was abolished in 1689, and although from that period episcopal clergymen had no legal provision or settlement, they were permitted, without molestation, to preach in meeting-houses till 1746; but as they derived no emolument from Government, and no provision from the State, they did not, says Arnot, perplex their consciences with voluminous and unnecessary oaths, but merely excluded

the name of "the Hanoverian usurpers" from all their devotions. But the humble chapels with which these old Scottish Episcopalians contented themselves in Carrubber's Close, Skinner's Close, and elsewhere, present a wonderful contrast to their St. Paul's and St. Mary's in the Edinburgh of to-day.

In this close was the house of Robert Ainslie's master, during Burns's visit to Edinburgh, Mr. Samuel Mitchelson, a great musical amateur; and here it was that occurred the famous "Haggis Scene," described by Smollett in "Humphrey Clinker." At the table of Mitchelson the poet was a frequent guest, while on another floor of the old Clam Shell Land, as it was named, dwelt another friend of Burns's, the elder Sir William Forbes of Pittsligo, prior to his removal to the New Town. On the second floor of an ancient stone land at the head of the close dwelt Captain Matthew Henderson, a well-known antiquary, a gentleman of agreeable and dignified manners, who was a hero of Minden, and a member of the Crochallan Club, and dined constantly at Fortune's tavern.

He died in 1789, and Burns wrote a powerful elegy on him as "a gentleman who held the patent for his honours immediately from Almighty God." "I loved the man much, and have not flattered his memory," said Burns in a note to the elegy, which contains sixteen verses. "The old captain was one whom all men liked. "In our travelling party," says Sir James Campbell of Ardkinglas in his (suppressed) Memoirs, "was Matthew Henderson, then (1759) and afterwards well known and much esteemed in the town of Edinburgh, at that time an officer in the 25th Regiment of Foot, and, like myself, on his way to join the army; and I may say with truth, that in the course of a long life I have never known a more estimable character than Matthew Henderson."

This close was the scene of the unsuccessful speculation of another poet, for here Allan Ramsay made a bold attempt to establish his theatre, which was roughly closed by the magistrates in 1737, after it had been barely opened, for which he took a poet's vengeance in rhyme in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The edifice, which stood at the foot of the close, was quizzically named St. Andrew's Chapel, and in 1773 was the arena for the debates of a famous speculative club named the Pantheon.

Five years subsequently blind Dr. Moyes, the clever lecturer on natural philosophy, held forth therein to audiences both fashionable and select, on optics, the property of light, and so forth. It was afterwards occupied by Mr. John Barclay,

founder of the Bereans, whose chief tenet was, that the knowledge of the existence of God is derived from revelation and not from Scripture.

From him and his followers Ramsay's luckless theatre passed to the Rev. Mr. Tait and other founders of the Rowites, during whose occupancy the pulpit was frequently filled by the celebrated Edward Irving. The Relief and Secession congregations have also had it in succession; the Catholics have used it as a schoolroom; and till its demolition to make way for Jeffrey Street, it has been the arena of a strange *olla podrida* of personages and purposes.

In Carrubber's Close stood the ancient Tailors' Hall, the meeting-place of a corporation whose charter, granted to them by the Town Council, is dated 20th October, 1531, and with their original one, was further confirmed by charters from James V. and James VI. They had an altar in St. Giles's Church dedicated to their patron St. Ann, and the date of their seal of cause is 1500. They had also an altar dedicated to St. Ann in the Abbey church, erected in 1554 by permission of Robert Commendator of Holyrood.

The fine old hall in the Cowgate has long since been abandoned by the Corporation, which still exists; and in their other place of meeting in Carrubber's Close an autograph letter of King James VI., which hung framed and glazed over the old fireplace, was long one of its chief features.

It was dated in 1594, and ran thus; but a few lines will suffice for a specimen:—

"Dekin and remanent Maisters and Brethren of the Tailyer's craft within our burgh of Edinburgh, we greet you well.

"Forsemeikle as, respecting the guile service of Alexander Miller, in making and working the abulzements of our awn person, minding to continue him in our service, as ain maist fit and meit persone. We laitie recommend him into you be our letter of request, desiring you to receive and admit him gratis to the libertie and freedom of the said craft, as a thing maist requisite for him, having the cair of our awin wark, notwithstanding that he was not prenteis amongis you, according to your ancient liberties and privileges had in the contraie. Willing you at this our request to dispense him thereanent, &c., JAMES R."

The king's request was no doubt granted, and the Alexander Miller to whom it referred died in 1616, a reputable burgess, whose tomb in the Greyfriars' churchyard was inscribed thus by his heirs:—

"*Alexandro Millero, Jacobi M<sup>g</sup>. Brit. Francie, &c., Regis Sartori, ad finem vite, primario, haredes. F. C. vivit annis 57, obiit Principis et Civium luctu decoratus, Anno 1616. Maii 2.*"

When the Company of Merchant Tailors in London requested James to become a member of their guild, he declined, on the plea that he "was already free of another company," and referred to the similar corporation in his native capital, but added that his son Henry, the Prince of Wales, would avail himself of the honour, and that he himself would be present at the ceremony.

From "Guthrie's Memoirs" we learn that in 1643 a solemn and important meeting was held in the Tailors' Hall between the conservators of peace with England and a commission of the General Assembly.

St. Magdalene's Chapel, and the modern Mary's Chapel in Bell's Wynd, form the chief halls of the remaining corporations of Edinburgh that have long survived the purposes for which they were originally incorporated.

In August, 1758, there occurred a dreadful fire in Carrubber's Close, on which occasion four tenements containing fifteen families were burned down, and many persons were severely injured.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century gentility was still lingering here, for in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for 1783 we read of the house of Stuart Barclay of Collairnie—having a drawing-room measuring 19ft. by 14ft.—being for sale: and also that belonging to Neil Campbell of Duntroon, at the foot of the close.

At the head of Bailie Fyfe's Close, No. 107, High Street, there stood a stately old stone tenement, having carved above one of its upper windows a shield bearing two mullets in chief, with a crescent in base—the arms of Trotter, with the initials I. T. I. M., and the date 1612. Elsewhere there was another shield, having the arms of the Parleys of Yorkshire impaled with those of Hay, and the legend *Be. Patient. in. the. Lord.* and to this edifice a peculiar interest is attached.

After standing for close on 250 years, it sank suddenly—and without any premonitory symptoms or warning—to the ground with a terrible crash at midnight on the 10th of November, 1861, burying

in its ruins thirty-five persons, and shooting out into the broad street a mighty heap of rubbish. A few of the inmates almost miraculously escaped destruction from the peculiar way in which some of the strong oak beams and fragments of flooring fell over them; and among those who did so was a lad, whose sculptured effigy, as a memorial of the event, now decorates a window of the new edifice, with a scroll, whereon are carved the words he was heard uttering piteously to those who were digging out the killed and wounded: "Heave awa, lads, I'm no deid yet!"



ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL, CARRUBBLR'S CLOSE.

In Chalmers' Close an old house was connected in a remote way with the famous Lord Francis Jeffrey, whose grandfather dwelt there when in the trade as a barber and perwig maker, and the old close is said to have been in his boyhood a favourite haunt of the future judge and critic.

In large old English letters the name JOHN HOPE appears cut over the doorway of an adjacent turnpike stair, with a coat of arms, now completely obliterated, and on the bed-cornel of the crowstepped gable is another shield, sculptured with a coat armorial and the initials I. H. Moulded mullions and transoms divided the large windows,

a rather uncommon feature in Scottish domestic architecture; and from the general remains of decayed magnificence, the name, initials, and arms, this is supposed—but cannot be absolutely declared—to be the mansion of the founder of the noble family of Hopetoun, John de Hope, who came from France in the retinue of Magdalene of Valois, the first queen of James V., and who, with his son Edward, had two booths eastward of the old Kirk Style. But the name of Hope was known in Scotland in the days of Alexander III.; and James III., in 1488, gave to Thomas Hope a grant of some land near Leith.

No. 71 is Sandilands' Close, where tradition, but tradition only, avers there dwelt that learned and munificent prelate, James Kennedy, Bishop of Dunkeld, Lord High Chancellor, and the upright

counsellor of James II and James III. The building indicated as having been his residence is a large stone tenement of great antiquity on the east side, having thereon a coat of arms and a mitre, which were removed a few years ago, and our best antiquary asserts that "the whole appearance of the building is perfectly consistent with the supposition" that it had been Bishop Kennedy's abode. "The form and decorations of the doorways all prove an early date, while the large

"A large and convenient house, entering by a close mostl paved with flagstones, on the north side of the street near the Nether Bow, consisting of eight rooms, painted last year, or papered, some with Chinese paper, a marble chimney piece from the ceiling in one, concaves and slabs (*sic*) two other of the rooms, the drawing room elegantly fitted up, painted, gilded, and carved in the newest style, with light closets to all the bed rooms and other conveniences to the dining room and parlour,



HOUSE IN HIGH STREET WITH MEMORIAL WINDOW. "HEAVE AWAY TADS, I'M NO DEED YET!"

and elegant mouldings of the windows, and the massive appearance of the whole building, indicate such magnificence as would well consort with the dignity of the primacy at that early period.

Bishop Kennedy, author of a history of his own times, now lost, died in 1466, and was interred at St Andrews.

Baron Grant's and Baile Grant's Closes were among the last alleys on this side, adjoining the Nether Bow Port. An advertisement in the *Edinburgh Courier* for 1761, in describing the house of Mr Grant (who was a Baron of the Exchequer Court) as offered for sale, gives us a pretty accurate idea of what a mansion in the Old Town was in those days —

wine cellar and large kitchen, a coal fauld, fire room for servants, and larder, a hen house and cribs, for feeding all sorts of fowls, a house for a sedan chair, a rack to contain 10 gross of bottles, all built and slated, a garden extending down the greatest part of Leith Wynd, planted with flowering shrubs, and servitude for a separate entry to it, passing by the gate of Lord Edgfield's house."

The garden referred to must have been bounded by the massive portion of the eastern wall of the city, which fell down about twenty years ago, and the Lord Edgfield, whose neighbour the Baron had been, was Mr Robert Pringle, who was raised to the Bench in 1754, and, dying ten years after, was succeeded by the well-known Lord Pitfour.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## THE HIGH STREET—(continued).

"The Salamander Land"—The Old Fishmarket Close—Heriot's Mansion—The Deemster's House—Borthwick's Close—Lord Durie's House—Old Assembly Rooms—Edinburgh As embles, 1720-25—Miss Nicky Murray—Formalities of the Ball—Ladies' Fashions—Assemblies Removed to Hell's Wynd—Blair Street and Hunter's Square—Kennedy's Close—George Buchanan's Death—Niddry's Wynd—Nicol Edwards' House—A Case of Homicide in 1597—A Quack Doctor—Livingstone's Liberty.

IN describing the closes and wynds which diverge from the great central street of the old city on the south we must resume at the point where the great fire of 1824 ceased, a conflagration witnessed by Sir Walter Scott, who says of it :—

"I can conceive no sight more grand or terrible than to see those lofty buildings on fire from top to bottom, vomiting out flames like a volcano from every aperture, and finally crashing down one after another into an abyss of fire, which resembled nothing but hell; for there were vaults of wine and spirits, which sent up huge jets of flames wherever they were called into activity by the fall of these massive fragments."

"The Salamander Land," an enormous black tenement, so named from its having survived or escaped the fires that raged eastward and westward of it, and named also from that curious propensity, which is so peculiarly Scottish, for inventive and appropriate sobriquets, was removed to make way for the Police Chambers and the *Courant* office, in the latter of which James Hannay, the author of "Satire and Satirists" and several other works, and Joseph Robertson, the well-known Scottish antiquary, conducted the editorial duties of that paper, the first editor of which was Daniel Defoe. "We have been told," says Wilson, writing of the old tenement in question, "that this land was said to have been the residence of Daniel Defoe while in Edinburgh; the tradition, however, is entirely unsupported by other testimony."

Descending the street on the south, as we have done on the north, we shall peep into each of the picturesque alleys that remain, and recall those which are no more, with all the notables who once dwelt therein, and summon back the years, the men, and the events that have passed away.

Through "the Salamander Land" a spacious archway led into the Old Fishmarket Close, where, previous to the great fire, an enormous pile of buildings reared their colossal front, with that majestic effect produced now by the back of the Royal Exchange and of James's Court, and where now the lofty tenements of the new police office stand.

To this alley, wherein the cannon shot of Kirkaldy fell with such dire effect during the great siege

of 1573, Moysse tells us the plague was brought, on the 7th of May, 1588, by a servant woman from St. Johnston.

Within the Fishmarket Close was the mansion of George Heriot, the royal goldsmith, wherein more recently resided President Dundas, "father of Lord Melville, a thorough *bon vivant* of the old claret-drinking school of lawyers."

Here, too, dwell, we learn from Chambers's "Traditions," the Deemster, a finisher of the law's last sentence, a grim official, who annually drew his fee from the adjacent Royal Bank; and one of the last of whom, when not officiating at the west end of the Tolbooth or the east end of the Grassmarket, eked out his subsistence by cobbling shoes.

Borthwick's Close takes its name from the noble and baronial family of Borthwick of that ilk, whose castle, a few miles south from the city, is one of the largest and grandest examples of the square tower in Scotland. In the division of the city in October, 1514, the third quarter is to be—according to the Burgh records—"frae the Lopellie Stane with the Cowgaitt, till Lord Borthwick's Close," assigned to "Baillie Bansun," with his sergeant Thomas Arnott, and his quartermaster Thomas Fowler.

The property on the middle of the east side of the close belonged to one of the Lords Napier of Merchiston, but to which there is no record to show; and it is not referred to in the minute will of the inventor of logarithms, who died in 1617.

A new school belonging to Heriot's Hospital occupies the ground that intervenes between this alley and the old Assembly Close.

On that site stood the town mansion of Lord Durie, President of the Court of Session in 1642, the hero of the ballad of "Christie's Will," and according thereto the alleged victim of the Earl of Traquair, as given in a very patched ballad of the Border Minstrelsy, beginning :—

"Traquair he has ridden up Chapelhope,  
And sae has he doon by the Greymare's Tail;  
But he never stinted his light gallop,  
Till he spiered for Christie's Will."

And hence for a time the alley bore the name of Lord Durie's Close.

On the site of his mansion, till its destruction by the fire of 1824, stood the Old Assembly Rooms

of Edinburgh, to which the directors of *haut ton* removed their fashionable *réunions* about the year 1720 from the West-Bow; and which in a "sasine" in the charter room of the burgh, dated 1723, is described as being "that big hall, or great room, now known by the name of the Assembly House, being part of that new great stone tenement of land, lately built."

There it was that the Honourable Miss Nicky Murray reigned supreme as lady-directress and goddess of fashion, for many years during the middle of the eighteenth century. She was a sister of the Earl of Mansfield, and was a woman possessed of much good sense, firmness, knowledge of the world, and of the characters of those by whom she was surrounded. With her sisters she lived long in one of the tenements at the head of Baillie Fyfe's Close, where she annually received whole broods of fair country cousins, who came to town to receive the finishing touches of a girl's education, and be introduced to society—the starched and stately society of old Edinburgh.

The Assembly Room was in the close to which it gave its name. It had a spacious lobby, lighted by sconces, where the gilded sedans set down their powdered, hooped, and wigged occupants, while links flared, liveried valets jostled, and swords were sometimes drawn; and where a reduced gentleman—a claimant to the ancient peerage of Kirkcudbright—sold gloves, for which he was rather ungenerously sneered at by Oliver Goldsmith.

From this lobby the dancing-hall opened at once, and up-stairs was a tea-room. The former had in its centre a railed space, within which were the dancers; while the spectators, we are told, sat on the outside, and no communication was permitted between the different sides of this sacred pale. Here it was that in 1753 Goldsmith first saw, with some astonishment, the formalities of the old Scottish balls. He relates that on entering the dancing-room he saw one end of it taken up by the ladies, who sat dismally in a group by themselves. "On the other end stand their pensive partners that are to be, but no more intercourse between the sexes than between two countries at war. The ladies, indeed, may ogle, and the gentlemen sigh, but an embargo is laid on any closer commerce."

The lady directress occupied a high chair, or species of throne, upon a dais at one end, and thereon sat Miss Nicky Murray in state. Her immediate predecessors there had been Mrs. Browne of Colstoun, and Lady Minto, daughter of Sir Robert Stuart of Allanbank.

The whole arrangements were of a rigid character,

with a general tending to the promotion of dullness, there being but one set at a time permitted to occupy the floor; it was seldom that any one was twice upon it in one night, and often the most beautiful girls in the city passed it, as mere spectators, which threw serious duties on the gentlemen in the way of conversation.

The latter usually sorted themselves with one partner for the whole year! The arrangements were generally made at some preliminary ball or other gathering, when a gentleman's cocked hat was unflapped and the ladies' fans were placed therein, and, as in a species of ballot, the beaux drew forth the latter, and to whomsoever the fan belonged he was to be the partner for the season, a system often productive of absurd combinations and many a petty awkwardness. "Then," as Sir Alexander Boswell wrote—

"The Assembly Close received the fair—  
Order and elegance presided there—  
Each gay Right Honourable had her place,  
To walk a minuet with becoming grace.  
No racing to the dance, with oval hurry—  
Such was thy sway, O famed Miss Nicky Murray!  
Each lady's fan a chosen Danon bore,  
With care selected many a day before;  
For, unprovided with a favourite beau,  
The nymph, chagrined, the ball must needs forego,  
But previous matters to her taste arranged,  
Certes, the constant couple never changed;  
Through a long night, to watch fair Delia's will,  
The same dull swain was at her elbow still."

With sword at side, and often hat in hand, the gallants of those days escorted the chairs of their partners home to many a close and wynd now the abode of squalor and sordid poverty; for much of stately and genuine old-fashioned gallantry prevailed, as if it were part of the costume, referred to by the poet:—

"Shades of my fathers! in your pasteboard skirts,  
Your brodered waistcoats and your plaited shirts,  
Your formal bag-wigs, wide extended cuffs,  
Your five-inch chittellings and nine-inch ruffs.  
Gods! how ye strut at times in all your state,  
Amid the visions of my thoughtful pate!"

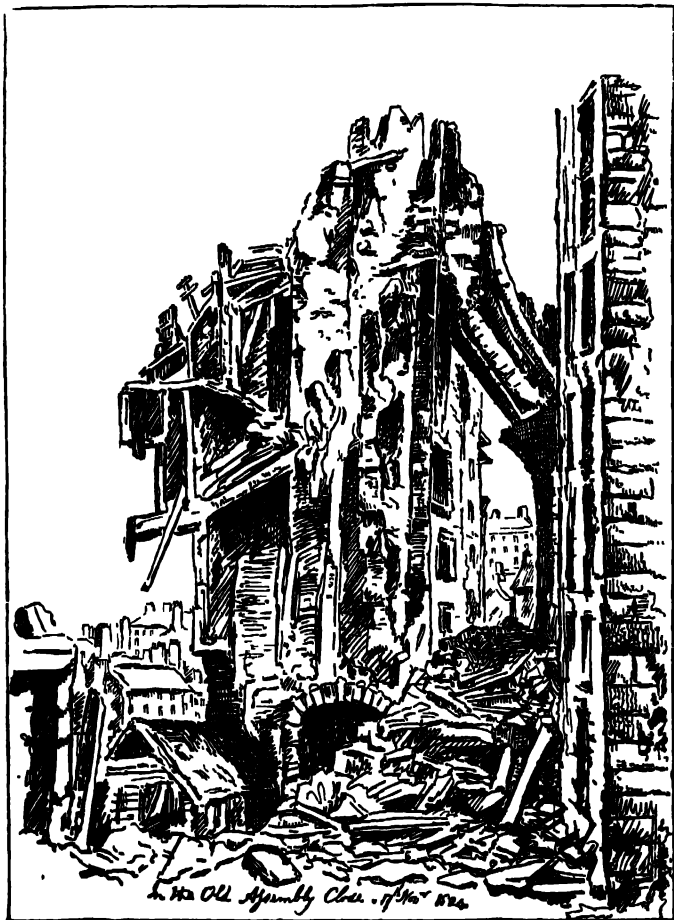
Those who attended the assemblies belonged exclusively to the upper circle of society that then existed in Edinburgh; and Miss Murray, on hearing a young lady's name mentioned to her for approval, was wont to ask, "Miss—of *what*?" and if no territorial or family name followed, she might dismiss the matter by a wave of her fan, for, according to her views, it was necessary to be "a lady o' that ilk;" and it is well known, that "upon one occasion, seeing at an assembly a man who had been raised to wealth in some

humble trade, she went up to him, and without the least deference to his fine laced coat, taxed him with presumption in coming there, and turned him out of the room."

The hours kept were early in those days, and the

shopping, just as people perform these duties before that meal now.

Then gentlemen wore the Ramillies wig or tied hair, small three-cornered hats laced with gold or silver, large-skirted, collarless coats with square



RUINS IN THE OLD ASSEMBLY CLOVE, AFTER THE GREAT FIRE, NOV., 1824.

(Reduced 1/40th-size of a Print of the Period)

moderate time was never protracted. When the hour of departure came even the most winning young couples would crowd about her throne, petitioning for "one dance more," but the inexorable Miss Nicky vacated her seat, and by a wave of her fan silenced the musicians and summoned the candle-snuffers.

The evening was then the fashionable time for receiving company in Edinburgh, when people were all abroad upon the streets, after dinner calling and

cuffs, and square-toed shoes; and the dresses of the ladies, if quaint, gave them dignity and grace. "How fine it must have been to see, as an old gentleman told me he had seen," says Dr. Chambers, "two hooped ladies moving along the Lawnmarket in a summer evening, and filling up the whole footway with their stately and voluminous persons!"

Ladies in Edinburgh then wore the calash, a kind of hood formed of cane covered with silk,

to protect the powdered head of loftily-dressed hair, when walking or driving, and it could be folded back flat like the hood of a carriage; they also wore the capuchin or short cloak tippet, reaching to the elbows, usually of silk trimmed with velvet or lace. In walking, they carried the skirt of the long gown over one arm, a necessary precaution in the wynds and closes of 1750, as well as to display the rich petticoat below; but on entering a room, the full train swept majestically behind them; and their stays were so long, as to touch the chair before and behind when seated.

The vast hoops proved a serious inconvenience in the turnpike stairs of the Old Town, when, as ladies had to tilt them up, it was absolutely necessary to have a fine show petticoat beneath; and we are told that such "care was taken of appearances, that even the garters were worn fine, being either embroidered, or having gold or silver fringes and tassels. . . . Plaids were worn by ladies to cover their heads and muffle their faces when they went into the street;" and we have already shown how vain were the fulminations of magistrates against the latter fashion.

In 1733 the silk stockings worn by ladies and gentlemen were so thick, and so heavily adorned with gold and silver, that they could rarely be washed perhaps more than once. The Scottish ladies used enormous Dutch fans; and all women high and low wore prodigious busks.

Below the Old Assembly Close is one named from the Covenant, that great national document and solemn protest against interference with the religion of a free people having been placed for signature at a period after 1638 in an old mansion long afterwards used as a tavern at the foot of the alley.

Lower down we come to Bell's Wynd, 146, High Street, which contained another Assembly Room, for the Edinburgh fashionables, removed thither, in 1758, to a more commodious hall, and there the weekly reunions and other balls were held in the season, until the erection of the new hall in George Street.

Blair Street, and Hunter's Square, which was built in 1788, occasioned the removal of more than one old alley that led down southward to the Cowgate, among them were Marlin's and Peebles' Wynds, to which we shall refer when treating of the North and South Bridges. The first tenement of the former at the right corner, descending, marks the site of Kennedy's Close. In the first floor of the first turnpike house on the left hand, George Buchanan, the historian and poet, died in his 76th year, on the morning of Friday the 28th of

September, 1582, and from whence he was borne to his last home in the Greyfriars' churchyard. The last weeks of his life were spent, it is alleged, in the final correction of the proofs of his history, equally remarkable for its pure Latinity and for its partisan spirit. He survived its appearance only a month.

When on his death-bed, finding that all the money he had about him was insufficient to defray the expense of his funeral, he ordered his servant to divide it among the poor, adding "that if the city did not choose to bury him they might let him lie where he was."

The site of his grave is now unknown, though a "throstone" would seem to have marked it so lately as 1710. A skull, believed to be that of Buchanan, is preserved in the Museum of the University, and is so remarkably thin as to be transparent; but the evidence in favour of the tradition, though not conclusive, does not render its truth improbable. From the Council Records in 1701, it would seem that Buchanan's gravestone had sunk into the earth, and had gradually been covered up.

In the *Edinburgh Magazine* for 1788 we are told that the areas of some of the demolished closes westward of the Tron Church and facing Blair Street, were exposed for sale in April, and that "the first lot immediately west of the new opening sold for £2,000, and that to the southward for £1,500, being the upset price of both."

Niddry's Street, which opens eastward of the South Bridge, occupies the site of Niddry's Wynd, an ancient thoroughfare, which bore an important part in the history of the city. "It is well known," says Wilson, "that King James VI. was very condescending in his favours to his loyal citizens of Edinburgh, making no scruple, when the larder of Holyrood grew lean, and the privy purse was exhausted, to give up housekeeping for a time, and honour one or other of the substantial burghers of his capital with a visit of himself and household; or when the straitened mansions within the closes of old Edinburgh proved insufficient singly to accommodate the hungry train of courtiers, he would very considerably distribute his favours through the whole length of the close!"

Thus from Moyses' (or Moyses') *Memoirs*, page 182, we learn that when James was troubled by the Earl of Bothwell in January, 1591, and ordered Sir James Sandilands to apprehend him, he, with the Queen and Chancellor (and theirsute of course), "withdrew themselves within the town of Edinburgh, and lodged themselves in Nicol Edward's house, in Niddry's Wynd, and the Chancellor in



Alexander Clark's house, at the same wynd head." In after years the lintel of this house was built in to Ross's Tower, at the Dean. It bore this legend :—

"THE LORD IS MY PROTECTOR,  
ALEXANDRUS CLARK."

Nicol Edward was Provost of Edinburgh in 1591, and his house was a large and substantial building of quadrangular form and elegant proportions.

The Chancellor at this time was Sir John Maitland of Lethington, Lord Thirlestane.

Moyses next tells us that on the 7th of February, George Earl of Huntly (the same fiery peer who fought the battle of Glenlivet), "with his friends, to the number of five or six score horse, passed from his Majesty's said house in Edinburgh, as intending to pass to a horse-race in Leith; but after they came, they passed forward to the Queensferry, where they caused to stop the passing of all boats over the water," and crossing to Fife, attacked the Castle of Donnibristle, and slew "the bonnie Earl of Murray."

From this passage it would seem that if Huntly's six score horse were not lodged in Nicol Edward's house, they were probably billeted over all the adjacent wynd, which six years after was the scene of a homicide, that affords a remarkable illustration of the exclusive rule of master over man which then prevailed.

On the first day of the sitting of Parliament, the 7th December, 1597, Archibald Jardine, master-stabler and servitor to the Earl of Angus, was slain, through some negligence, by Andrew Stalker, a goldsmith at Niddry's Wynd head, for which he was put in prison.

Then the cry of "Armour!" went through the streets, and all the young men of Edinburgh rose in arms, under James Williamson, their captain, "and desir'd grace," as Birrel records, "for the young man who had done ane reckless deed. The King's majesty desir'd them to go to my Lord of Angus, the man's master, and satisfy and

pacify his wrath, and he should be contentit to save his life."

James Williamson thereupon went to the Earl of Angus, and offered, in the name of the young men of the city, "their manreid," or bond of man-rent, to be ready to serve him in war and feud, upon which he pardoned the said Andrew Stalker, who was immediately released from prison.

In December, 1665, Nicoll mentions that a doctor of physic named Joanna Baptista, acting under a warrant from his Majesty Charles II., erected a stage between the head of Niddry's Wynd and Blackfriars' Wynd, whereon "he vend'd his drugs, powder, and medicaments, for the whilk he received a great abundance of money."

In May, 1692, we read that William Livingstone, brother of the Viscount Kilsyth, a cavalier, and husband of the widow of Viscount Dundee, had been a prisoner in the Tolbooth from June, 1689, to November, 1690—seventeen months; thereafter, that he had lived in a chamber in the city under a guard for a year, and that he was permitted to go forth for a walk daily, but still under the eye of a guard. In consequence of his being thus treated, and his rents being sequestrated by the Revolutionary Government, his fortune was entirely ruined. On his petition, the Privy Council now permitted him "to go abroad under a sentinel each day from morning to evening furth of the house of Andrew Smith, periwig-maker, at the head of Niddry's Wynd," he finding caution under £1,500 sterling to remain a prisoner.

Under an escort of dragoons he was permitted to leave the periwig-maker's, and visit Kilsyth, after which he was confined in two royal castles and the Tolbooth till 1693, so that, as a writer remarks, "in the course of the first five years of British liberty, Mr. Livingstone must have acquired a tolerably extensive acquaintance with the various forms and modes of imprisonment, so far as these existed in the northern section of the island."

## CHAPTER XXIX.

### THE HIGH STREET—(continued).

Niddry's Wynd—Provost Edward's House—Lockhart's Court—St Mary's Chapel—Masonic Lodge Meetings—Viscountess Glenorchy—The Story of Lady Grange—St. Cecilia's Hall—Its Old fashioned Concerts—The Belles of the Eighteenth Century—The Name Niddry.

OF the house of Provost Nicol Edward (or Udward, to which we have referred) a very elaborate description is given in the work entitled "Minor Antiquities." On a mantelpiece within it were

carved his arms, with an anagram upon his name thus :—

"VA D'UN VOL À CHRIST"—

"Go with one flight to Christ," which only can be

made out by Latinising his name into *Nicholaus Edwartus*. It occupied the western side of Lockhart's Court, and was accessible only by a deep archway.

In an Act passed in 1581, "Anent the Cuinzie," Alexander Clark of Balbirnie, Provost of Edinburgh, and Nicol Edward, whose houses were both in this wynd, are mentioned with others. The latter appears in 1585 in the Parliament as Commissary for Edinburgh, together with Michael Gilbert; and in 1587 he appears again in an Act of Parliament in favour of the Flemish craftsmen, whom James VI. was desirous of encouraging; but, lest they should produce inferior work at Scottish prices, his Majesty, with the advice of Council, "hes appointit, constitute, and ordainit, ane honest and discreit man, Nicolas Uduart, burgess of Edinburgh, to be visitor and overseer of the said craftsmen's hail warks, steiks, and pieces . . . the said Nicolas sal have sic duties as is contenit within the buke, as is commonly usit to be payit therfore in Flanderis, Holland, or England;" in virtue of all of which Nicholas was freed from all watching, warding, and all charges and impositions.

In that court dwelt, in 1753-1761, George Lockhart of Carnwath. One of the thirteen rooms in his house contained a mantelpiece of singular magnificence, that reached the lofty ceiling; but the house had a peculiar accessory, in the shape of "a profound dungeon, which was only accessible by a secret trap-door, opening through the floor of a small closet, the most remote of a suite of rooms extending along the south and west sides of the court. Perhaps at a time when to be rich was neither so common nor so safe as now, Provost Edward might conceal his hoards in this *massy more*."

The north side of Lockhart's Court was long occupied by the family of Bruce of Kinnaird, the celebrated traveller.

In Niddry's Wynd, a little below Provost Edward's house on the opposite side, stood St. Mary's Chapel, dedicated to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, according to Arnot, in 1505. Its foundress was Elizabeth, daughter of James, Lord Livingstone, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and Countess of Ross—then widow of John Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, who, undeterred by the miserable fate of his father, drew on him, by his treasonable practices, the just vengeance of James III., and died in 1498.

Colville of Easter Wemyss, and afterwards Richardson of Smeaton, became proprietors and patrons of this religious foundation; and about the year 1600, James Chalmers, a macer before the

Court of Session, acquired a right to the chapel, and in 1612 the Corporations of Wrights and Masons, known by the name of the United Incorporations of Mary's Chapel, purchased this subject, "where they still possess, and where they hold meetings," says Arnot, writing in 1779.

In the *Caledonian Mercury* for 1736 we read that on St. Andrew's Day the masters and wardens of forty masonic lodges met in St. Mary's Chapel, and unanimously elected as their grand-master William Sinclair of Roslin, the representative of an ancient though reduced family, connected for several generations with Scottish freemasonry.

For this ancient chapel a modern edifice was substituted, long before the demolition of Niddry's Wynd; but the masonic lodge of Mary's Chapel still exists, and we believe holds its meetings there.

Religious services were last conducted in the new edifice when Viscountess Glenorchy hired it. She was zealous in the cause of religion, and conceived a plan of having a place of worship in which ministers of every orthodox denomination might preach; and for this purpose she had St. Mary's Chapel opened on Wednesday, the 7th March, 1770, by the Rev. Mr. Middleton, the minister of a small Episcopal chapel at Dalkeith; but she failed to secure the ministrations of any clergyman of the Established Church, though in 1779 the Rev. William Logan, of South Leith, a poet of some eminence in his time, gave his course of lectures on the philosophy of history in the chapel, prior to offering himself as a candidate for the chair of civil history in the University.

On the east side of Niddry's Wynd, nearly opposite to Lockhart's Court, was a handsome house, which early in the eighteenth century was inhabited by the Hon. James Erskine, a senator, better known by his legal and territorial appellation of Lord Grange, brother of John Earl of Mar, who led the great rising in 1715 on behalf of the Stuarts. He was born in 1679, and was called to the Scottish bar in 1705. He took no share in the Jacobite enterprise which led to the forfeiture of his brother, and the loss, ultimately of the last remains of the once great inheritance in the north from which the ancient family took its name.

He affected to be a zealous Presbyterian and adherent of the House of Hanover, and as such he figures prominently in the "Diary" of the industrious Wodrow, supplying that writer with many shreds of the Court gossip, which he loved so dearly; but Lord Grange is chiefly remembered for the romantic story of his wife, which has long filled

an interesting page in popular literature, and been the theme of more than one work of fiction.

She was Rachel Chiesley, the daughter of that Chiesley of Dalry who, in a gust of passionate resentment, shot down the Lord President Lockhart, and she inherited from him a temper prone to anger. She and her husband had been married upwards of

dislike, and would live with her no longer, while he, on the other hand, asserted that he had long been tortured by her "unsubduable rage and madness," and had failed in every effort to soothe or bring her to reason. She was a woman of more than common beauty. Another account has it that in her girlhood Grange had seduced her, and



GEORGE BUCHANAN

(From a Print that belonged to the late David Laing)

twenty years, and had several children, when a separation was determined upon between them. "Some portion of her father's violent temper appears to have descended to the daughter," says the editor of Lord Grange's Letters, "and aggravated by drunkenness, rendered her marriage for many years miserable, and led at last, in the year 1730, to her formal separation from her husband."

According to Lady Grange's account there had been love and peace for twenty years between her and Lord Grange, when he conceived a sudden

she compelled him to marry her by threatening to pistol him, and reminding him that she was Chiesley's daughter.

In effecting the separation, he allowed her £100 a year so long as she lived peacefully apart from him, but his frequent journeys to London, and rumours of certain amours there, inflamed her jealousy, and after being for some time in the country, she returned and took a lodging near her husband's house in Niddry's Wynd, as she herself touchingly relates, "that I might have the pleasure to see the house he was

in, and to see him and my children when going out; and I made his relations and my own speak to him, and was always in hopes that God would show him his sin of putting away his wife contrary to the laws of God and man; and this was no secret, for the President of the Session, and some of the Lords, the Solicitor-General, and some of the advocates and ministers of Edinburgh, know all this to be truth. When I lost all hopes, then I resolved to go to London."

Lord Grange's account is somewhat different. She tormented him and the children by reproachful cries from her windows; and he states, that "in his house, at the bottom of Niddry's Wynd, where there is a court, through which one enters the house, one time among others, when it was full of chairs, chairmen, and footmen, who attended the company that were with himself, or his sister Lady Jane Paterson (wife of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn), then keeping house together, she came into this court, and among that mob shamelessly cried up to the windows injurious reproaches, and would not go away, though intreated, till hearing the late Lord Lovat's voice" she would seem then to have retired. He also asserts that one day she assailed him in church; on another, she compelled him to take refuge in a tavern, and threatened even to assault him on the Bench.

Tradition asserts that Lord Grange was dissipated, restless, intriguing, and was concerned in some Jacobite plots subsequently to the battle of Sheriffmuir; that in revenge his wife threatened to inform the Government; and there is proof, from one of his own letters, that she had actually taken her seat in one of the occasional stages which then ran between Edinburgh and London, and he bribed her to give her seat to another traveller, after which he would seem to have resolved upon "sequestering her," as he phrased it; and in a long letter written by herself, and dated January 26th, 1741, she gives an ample detail of how this was effected.

The plot was concerted between Lord Grange and some west Highland chiefs, among whom was the unscrupulous old Lord Lovat. A party of Highlanders, wearing the livery of the latter, made their way into her lodgings in Niddry's Wynd on the evening of the 22nd January, 1730, seized her with violence, knocking out some of her teeth, and, tying a cloth over her head, bore her forth, as if she had been a corpse.

"I heard voices about me," she relates; "but being blindfolded I could not discover who they were. They had a [sedan] chair at the stair-foot, which they put me in; and there was a man in the chair who took me on his knee, and I made all the

struggle I could; but he held me fast in his arms, and hindered me to put my hands to my mouth, which I attempted to do, being tied down. The chair carried me off very fast, and took me without the ports; and when they had opened the chair and taken the cloth off my head to let me get air, I perceived, it being clear moonlight, that I was a little way from the Multer's Hill,\* and the man on whose knee I sat was Alexander Foster, of Carsebonny, who had there six or seven horses and men with him, who said all these were his servants, though I knew some of them to be my Lord Lovat's servants, who rode along. One of them was called Alexander Frazer, and the other James Frazer, and his groom, whose name I know not."

From that night Niddry's Wynd knew her no more. She had two sons grown to manhood at the time she was so mysteriously spirited away; her daughter was married to John Earl of Kintore; yet none of her relations ever made the slightest stir in the matter, though the Aberdeenshire seat of the Earl was once suggested as a place of residence for her.

Leaving the vicinity of Edinburgh by the Lang Gate, a ride of twenty miles brought her, with her captors, to Muiravonside, where she was secured, under guard, in the house of John Macleod, advocate; but a man being posted near her bed, she could neither enter it nor take repose. Next night she was secured farther off, in an old solitary tower, at Wester Polmaise, where for fourteen weeks she was kept in a room, the windows of which were boarded over, access to the garden even being denied her.

On the 12th of August a Highlander named Alexander Grant suddenly appeared, and announced that she must prepare for the road again; and by her captors, who gave out that she was insane, she was conveyed by rough and secluded ways, where she could neither ride nor walk, but had to be borne in their arms, sleeping at night in a bothy, till she found herself on the shore of Loch Hourn, an arm of the sea, in the land of Glengarry. Then "bitterly did she weep and implore compassion, but the Highlanders understood not her language, and though they had done so, a departure from the orders which had been given them was not to be expected from men of their character," and she was hurried on board of a ship.

There she learned that she was now in the custody of Alexander Macdonald, tacksman of Heiskar, a small island three leagues westward of North Uist, belonging to Sir Alexander Macdonald of

\* Where now the Register House stands.

Sleat, and so named probably from the vast resort and slaughter of seals formerly made on its bleak and desolate rocks. Few or none, we are told, who have not seen the black deep bosom of Loch Hourn, its terrific rampart of mountain turrets, and the long, narrow gulf in which it sleeps in the cradle of its abyss, can conceive its profound and breathless stillness when undisturbed by the wild gusts of the coires, or gales, that sweep through its narrow gorge. It was in such an interval of peace that Lady Grange embarked, and for nine days her vessel lay becalmed. Two miserable years she abode in Heiskar.

In June, 1734, a sloop, commanded by a Macleod, came to Heiskar to convey the victim of all these strange precautions to the most remote portion of the British Isles, St. Kilda, "far amid the melancholy main," where she was placed in a cottage composed of two small apartments, with a girl to wait upon her, and where, except for a short time in the case of Roderick MacIannan, a Highland clergyman, there was not a human being who understood the language she spoke.

No newspapers, letters, or intelligence, came hither from the world in which she had once dwelt, save once yearly, when a steward came to collect, in kind, birds' feathers and so forth, the rent of the poor islanders. In St. Kilda she spent seven years, and how she spent them will never be known, yet they were not passed without several mad and futile efforts to escape.

Meanwhile all Edinburgh knew that she had been forcibly abducted from Niddry's Wynd by order of her husband, but the secret of her whereabouts was sedulously kept from all; but now the latter had resigned his seat on the bench, and entered political life, as a friend of the Prince of Wales and opponent of Sir Robert Walpole.

At length, in the gloomy winter of 1740-1, a communication from Lady Grange for the first time reached those in Edinburgh, who had begun to wonder and denounce the singular means her husband had taken to ensure domestic quiet. It was brought by the minister MacIannan and his wife Katherine MacInnon, both of whom had quitted St. Kilda in consequence of a quarrel with the steward of Macleod of that ilk. MacIannan was provided with letters for Lady Grange's law-agent, Mr. Hope, of Rankeillor, who made all the necessary recognitions, including those of people at Polmaise and elsewhere; after which he made application to the Lord Justice-Clerk for warrants empowering a search to be made, and the Laird of Macleod and others to be arrested; and when Mr. John Macleod, advocate, was cited, he declared

that he had no authority to appear for Lord Grange, "but repelled the charges against his chief and clansmen, claiming that no warrant should be granted upon the evidence of such scandalous and disreputable persons as MacIannan and his wife;" and Rankeillor was ordered to produce letters of evidence that those shown were actually written by Lady Grange, and being found to be in the writing of MacIannan, they were dismissed as insufficient, and warrants were refused.

Undeterred by this, Hope, on the 12th of February, fitted out a sloop, commanded by William Gregory, with twenty-five well-armed men, and sent him, with Mr. MacIannan on board, "to search for and rescue Lady Grange wherever she could be found;" but Macleod, on hearing of the departure of the sloop—which got no farther than Horse Shoe Harbour, in Lorn (where the master quarrelled with his guide, Mrs. MacIannan, and put her ashore)—had Lady Grange removed, and secluded in Assynt, at a farm-house, closely watched. There she became enfeebled in mind and body, the result of violent passions, intoxication, and latterly sea-sickness, which produced settled imbecility; and the unhappy lady thus treated was the wife of a man who, "not to speak of his office of a judge in Scotland, moved in English society of the highest character. He must have been the friend of Lyttelton, Pope, Thomson, and other ornaments of Frederick's Court; and, as the brother-in-law of the Countess of Mar, who was sister of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, he would figure in the brilliant circle which surrounded that star of the age of the second George. Yet he does not appear to have ever felt a moment's compunction at leaving the mother of his children to fret herself to death in a half-savage wilderness."

In a letter of his, dated Westminster, in June, 1749, in answer to an intimation of her death, he wrote thus callously.—"I most heartily thank you, my dear friend, for the timely notice you gave me of the death of that person. It would be a ridiculous untruth to pretend grief for it; but as it brings to my mind a train of various things for many years back, it gives me concern. . . . I long for the particulars of her death, which you are pleased to tell me I am to have by the next post."

After her removal to Skye her mind sank to idiocy. She exhibited a restless desire to ramble, and no motive now remaining for restraint, she was allowed entire freedom, and the poor wanderer strolled from place to place, supported by the hospitality and tenderness which, in the Highlands, have ever given a sacred claim to the idiot poor. In this state she lingered for seven

years, and in June, 1749, died in a cottar's humble dwelling at Idragal, seventeen years after her abduction on that evening of January from her house in Niddry's Wynd.

On the east side of Niddry's Wynd, at the foot thereof, and resting on the Cowgate, was St. Cecilia's Hall, an oval edifice, having a concave ceiling, and built in 1762 by Robert Mylne, the architect of Blackfriars Bridge (lineal descendant of the royal master-masons) "after the model of the opera at Parma," says Kincaid. The orchestra was placed over the north end, and therein was placed a fine organ. It was seated for 500 persons.

The Musical Society of Edinburgh, whose weekly concerts formed one of the most delightful entertainments in the old city, dated back to the otherwise gloomy era of 1728. Yet from "Fountainhall's Decisions" we learn that so far back as 1694 an enterprising citizen named Beck "erected a concert of music" somewhere in the city, which involved him in a lawsuit with the Master of the Revels. Even before 1728 several gentlemen, who were performers on the harpsichord and violin, had taken courage, and formed a weekly club at the *Cross Keys* tavern, "kept," says Arnot, "by one Steil, a great lover of musick, and a good singer of Scots songs." Steil is mentioned in the Latin lyrics of Dr. Pitcairn, who refers to a subject of which he was fully master—the old Edinburgh taverns of Queen Anne's time. At Pate Steil's the common entertainment consisted in playing the concertos and sonatas of Corelli, then just published, and the overtures of Handel. A governor, deputy-governor, treasurer, and five directors, were annually chosen to direct the affairs of this society, which consisted of seventy members. They met in St. Mary's Chapel from 1728 till 1762, when this hall was built for them.

For some years the celebrated Tenducci, who is mentioned in O'Keefe's "Recollections" in 1766 as a famous singer of Scottish songs, was at the head of the band; and one great concert was given yearly in honour of St. Cecilia, when Scottish songs were among those chiefly sung. When the Prince of Hesse came over, in 1745, with his 6,000 mercenaries, to fight against the Jacobites, he was specially entertained here by the then governor of the Musical Society, Lord Drummorie, Hugh Dalrymple. The prince was not only a dilettante, but a good performer on an enormous violoncello. "Few persons now living," says Dr. Chambers in 1847, "recollect the elegant concerts that were given many years ago in what is now an obscure part of our ancient city, known by the name of St.

Cecilia's Hall," and still fewer may remember them now.

On the death of Lord Drummorie, in 1755, the society performed a grand concert in honour of his memory, when the numerous company were all dressed in the deepest mourning.

In 1763 the concerts began at six in the evening; in 1783 an hour later.

To the concertos of Corelli and Handel in the new hall, were added the overtures of Stamitz, Bach, Abel, and latterly those of Haydn, Pleyel, and the magnificent symphonies of Mozart and Beethoven. The vocal department of these old concerts consisted of the songs of Handel, Arne, Gluck, and Guglielmi, with a great infusion of Scottish songs, for as yet the fashionables of Edinburgh were too national to ignore their own stirring music, and among the amateurs who took the lead as choristers were the wealthy Gilbert Innes of Stow, Mr. Alexander Wight, advocate, Mr. John Russell, W.S., and the Earl of Kellie, who on one occasion acted as leader of the band when performing one of six overtures of his own composition; and though last, not least, Mr. George Thomson, the well-known editor of the "Melodies of Scotland."

A supper to the directors and their friends at Fortune's tavern always followed an oratorio, where the names of the chief beauties who had graced the hall were toasted in bumpers from glasses of vast length, for exuberant loyalty to beauty was a leading feature in the convivial meetings of those days.

"Let me call to mind a few of those whose lovely faces at the concerts gave us the sweetest zest for music," wrote George Thomson, who died in 1851, in his ninety-fourth year:—"Miss Cleg-horn of Edinburgh, still living in single blessedness; Miss Chalmers of Pittencrief, who married Sir William Miller of Glenlee, Bart.; Miss Jessie Chalmers of Edinburgh, who married Mr. Pringle of Haining; Miss Hay of Hayston, who married Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo, Bart.; Miss Murray of Lintrose, who was called the *Flower of Strathmore*, and upon whom Burns wrote the song,

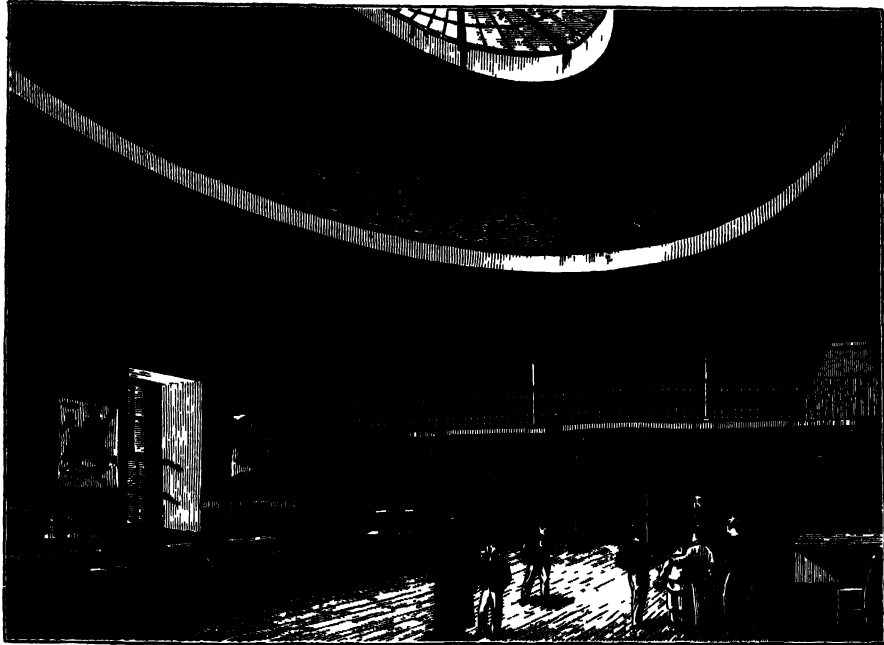
'Blythe, blythe, and merry was she,  
Blythe was she but and ben;  
Blythe by the banks of Earn,  
And blythe in Glentworth glen.'

She married David Smith, Esq., of Methven, one of the Lords of Session; Miss Jardine of Edinburgh, who married Home Drummond of Blairdrummond, their daughter, if I mistake not, is now Duchess of Athole; Miss Kinloch of Gilmerton, who married Sir Foster Cunliffe of Acton

Bart; Miss Lucy Johnston of East Lothian, who married Mr. Oswald of Auchincruive; Miss Halket of Pitfirran, who became the wife of the celebrated Count Lally-Tollendal; and Jane, Duchess of Gordon, celebrated for her wit and spirit as well as her beauty. These, with Miss

wynd into a street, there was swept away Dalgleish's Close, which is referred to in the "Diurnal of Occurrents" in 1572, and which occupied the site of the present east side of Niddry Street.

From whom this old thoroughfare took its name we know not; but it is an old one in



ST CECILIA'S HALL.

Burnet and Miss Home, and many others whose names I do not distinctly recollect, were indisputably worthy of all the honours conferred upon them."

These and other Edinburgh belles of the past all shed the light of their beauty on the old hall in Niddry's Wynd, now devoted to scholastic uses.

We first hear of a "Teacher of English" in 1750, when a Mr. Philp opened an educational establishment in the wynd in that year. In widening the

Lothian, and, with various adjuncts, designates several places near the city. In the charters of David II. Henry Niddry is mentioned in connection with Niddry-Marshall, and Walter, son of Augustine, burgess of Edynburgh, has the lands of Nuldry in that county, *quam Johannes de Bennachtyne de le Coriokys resignavit*, 19th Sept. an. reg. 33; and under Robert III. John Niddry held lands in Cramond and also Pentland Muir.

## CHAPTER XXX.

THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

Dickson's and Cant's Close—The House of the "Scottish Hogarth" and the Knight of Tillybole—Rosehaugh's, or Strichen's Close—House of the Abbots of Melrose—Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh—Lady Anne Dick—Lord Strichen—The Manners of 1730—Provost Grieve—John Dhu, Corporal of the City Guard—Lady Lovat's Land—Walter Chapman, Printer—Lady Lovat.

DICKSON'S CLOSE, numbered as 118, below the modern Niddry Street, gave access to a handsome and substantial edifice, supposed to be the work of that excellent artificer Robert Mylne, who built the modern portion of Holyrood and so many houses of an improved character in the city about the time of the Revolution. Its earlier occupants are unknown, but herein dwelt David Allan, known as the "Scottish Hogarth," a historical painter of undoubted genius, who, on the death of Alexander Runciman, in 1786, was appointed director and master of the academy established by the board of trustees for manufacturers in Scotland.

While resident in Dickson's Close he published, in 1788, an edition of the "Gentle Shepherd," with characteristic etchings, and, some time after, a collection of the most humorous old Scottish songs with similar drawings; these, with his illustrations of "The Cottar's Saturday Night" and the satire, humour, and spirit of his other etchings in aquatinta, won him a high reputation as a successful delineator of character and nature. His drawing classes met in the old college, but he received private pupils at his house in Dickson's Close after his marriage, on the 15th November, 1788. His terms were, as advertised in the *Mercury*, one guinea per month for three lessons in the week, which in those simple days would restrict his pupils to the wealthy and fashionable class of society. He died at Edinburgh on the 6th of August, 1796.

Lower down the close, on the same side, a quaint old tenement, doomed to destruction by the Improvements Act, 1867, showed on the coved bed-cornice of its crowstepped gable the arms of Haliburton, impaled with another coat armorial, with the peculiar feature of a double window corbelled out; and in a deed extant, dated 1582, its first proprietor is named Master James Haliburton. Afterwards it was the residence of Sir John Haliday, of Tillybole, and formed a part of Cant's Close.

Its appearance in 1868 has been preserved to us by R. Chambers, in a brief description in his "Traditions." According to this authority, it was two storeys in height, the second storey being reached by an outside stair, within a small courtyard, which had originally been shut by a gate. The stone pillars of the gateway were decorated with balls at the top, after the fashion of entrances

to the grounds of a country mansion. It was a picturesque building in the style of the sixteenth century in Scotland. As it resembled a neat old-fashioned country house, it was odd to find it jammed up amid the tall edifices of this confined alley. Ascending the stair, the interior consisted of three or four apartments, with elaborately-carved stucco ceilings. The principal room had a double window on the west to Dickson's Close.

In 1735 this mansion was the abode of Robert Geddes, Laird of Scotstoun in Peeblesshire, who sold it to George Wight, a burgher of Edinburgh, after which it became deteriorated, and its stuccoed apartments, from the attics to the ground floor, became each the dwelling of a separate family, and a scene of squalor and wretchedness.

A considerable portion of the edifices in Cant's Close were once ecclesiastical, and belonged to the prebendaries of the collegiate church, founded at Crichton in 1449, by Sir William Crichton of that ilk, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.

In Rosehaugh's Close, now called Strichen's, the next alley on the east, was the town-house of the princely mitred abbots of Melrose. In Catholic times the great dignitaries of the church had all their houses in Edinburgh; the Archbishop of St. Andrews resided at the foot of Blackfriars Wynd; the Bishop of Dunkeld in the Cowgate; the Abbot of Dunfermline at the Netherbow; the Abbot of Cambuskenneth in the Lawnmarket; and the Abbot of Melrose in the close we have named, and his "lodging" had a garden which extended down to the Cowgate, and up the opposite slope on the west side of the Pleasance, within the city wall.

The house of the abbot, a large and massive building enclosing a small square or court in the centre of it, was entered from Strichen's Close. "The whole building has evidently undergone great alterations," says the description of it written in 1847; "a carved stone bears a large and very boldly-cut shield, with two coats of arms, impaled, and the date 1600. There seems no reason to doubt, however, that the main portion of the abbot's residence still remains. The lower storey is strongly vaulted, and is evidently the work of an early date. The small quadrangle also is quite in character with the period assumed for the building; and at its north-west angle is Cant's Close,



where a curiously-carved fleur-de-lis surmounts the gable, and a grotesque gargoyle of antique form serves as a gutter to the roof."

Abbot Andrew Durie, who was nominated to the abbacy of Melrose in 1526 by James V., resided here; and Knox assures us that his death was hastened by dismay and horror occasioned by the terrible uproar on St. Giles's day, in 1558.

The Close in earlier time took its name from the abbots of Melrose; but at a later period was called Rosehaugh's Close, from Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, King's Advocate during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., author of many able works on Scottish law, and also a successful cultivator of general literature.

He obtained a charter of the property from Provost Francis Kinloch and the magistrates in 1677, and the house he occupied still exists, and seems to have been a stately enough edifice for its age. Sir George has still an unpleasant place in the local imagination of the Edinburgh people as "The Bluidy Mackenzie," the persecutor of the Covenanters; and though the friend of Dryden, and the founder of the first and greatest national library in Scotland, he is regarded as a species of ogre in his native capital.

The mausoleum in which he lies in the Greyfriars' Churchyard, a domed edifice with ornate Corinthian columns and niches, is believed by the urchins of the city to be haunted still, as it was commonly believed that his body could never rest in its grave. Hence it used to be deemed a "brag" or feat, for a boy more courageous than his fellows to shout through the keyhole into the dark and echoing tomb—

"Bluidy Mackenzie, come out if ye daur,  
Lift the sneck, and draw the bar!"

after which defiance all fled, lest the summoned spirit might appear, and follow them.

He had a country house, ten miles south of Edinburgh, called Shank, now in ruins. His granddaughter was Lady Anne Dick, of Corstorphine, whose eccentricities were wont to excite much attention in Edinburgh society, and who was the authoress of many droll pasquils, and personal pasquinades in verse, which created many enemies, who exulted in the follies of which she was guilty.

Among the latter was a fancy for dressing herself like a gallant of the day, and going about the town at night in search of adventures and frolics, one of which ended unpleasantly in her being consigned to the City Guard House. In many of her verses she half-banteringly deploras the coldness of Sir Peter Murray of Balmanno, in Kincardineshire, but more,

it is believed, from whim than actual fancy or regard. One begins thus:—

"Oh, wherefore did I cross the Forth,  
And leave my love behind me?  
Why did I venture to the north  
With one that did not mind me?  
Had I but visited Carin,  
It would have been much better,  
Than pique the prudes and make a din  
For careless, cold Sir Peter!"

"I'm sure I've seen a better limb,  
And twenty better faces;  
But still my mind it ran on him  
When I was at the races;  
At night when we were at the ball  
Were many there discreeter;  
The well-bred duke, and lively Maule,  
Panmure behaved much better."

In conclusion, she expresses an opinion that she must be mad "to follow cold Sir Peter." She died in 1741.

During a great part of the eighteenth century the ancient mansion in Rosehaugh's Close was occupied by Alexander Fraser of Strichen, who was connected by marriage with the descendants of Sir George Mackenzie, and who gave to the alley the name it now bears, Strichen's Close. He was raised to the bench as Lord Strichen, in 1730, and occupied a seat there and his residence in the close for forty-five years subsequent to that date, and was the direct ancestor of the present Lord Lovat in the peerage of Great Britain.

The manners and habits of the people of Edinburgh in those days—say about 1730—were as different from those of their successors as if they had been the natives of a foreign country. From Carlyle's Memoirs we learn that when gentlemen were invited to dine, each brought his own knife, fork, and spoon with him in a case (just as gentlemen did in France prior to the first Revolution), and a marked peculiarity of the period was a combination of showy and elegant costume with much simplicity, coarseness of thought, and roughness of speech, occasional courtesy, and great promptness to ire. Intercourse with France, and the service of so many Scottish gentlemen in the French army, led to a somewhat incongruous ingrafting of French politeness on the homely manners of the Scottish aristocracy; yet it was no uncommon thing for a lady to receive gentlemen, together with lady visitors, in her bed-room, for then, within the walled city, the houses had few rooms without a bed, either open or screened; while the seemliness and delicacy now attendant on marriages and births were almost unknown.

The slender house accommodation in the turn-

pike stairs compelled the use of taverns more than now. There the high-class advocate received his clients, and the physician his patients—each practitioner having his peculiar *honorarium*. There, too, gentlemen met in the evening for supper and conversation without much expense, a reckoning of a shilling being deemed a high one, so different then were the value of money and the price of viands. In 1720 an Edinburgh dealer advertises his liquors at the following prices:—"Neat claret wine at 11d., strong at 15d.; white wine at 12d.; Rhenish at 16d.; old hock at 20d., all per bottle; cherry-sack at 28d. per pint; English ale at 4d. per bottle."

In those days it was not deemed derogatory for ladies of rank and position to join oyster parties in some of those ancient taverns; and while there was this freedom of manner on one hand, we are told there was much of gloom and moroseness on the other; a dread of the Deity with a fear of hell, and of the power of the devil, were the predominant feelings of religious people in the age subsequent to the Revolution; while it was thought, so says the author of "Domestic Annals" (quoting Miss Mure's invaluable Memoirs), a mark of atheistic tendencies to doubt witchcraft, or the reality of apparitions and the occasional vaticinative character of dreams.

A country gentleman, writing in 1729, remarks on "the increase in the expense of housekeeping which he had seen going on during the past twenty years. While deeming it indisputable that Edinburgh was now much less populous than before the Union, yet I am informed," says he, "that there is a greater consumption since than before the Union of all provisions, especially feshes and wheat-bread. The butcher owns that he now kills three of every species for one he killed before the Union. . . . Tea in the morning and tea in the evening had now become established. There were more livery servants, and better dress, and more horses than formerly."

Lord Strichen did not die in the house in the close wherein he had dwelt so long, but at Strichen in Aberdeenshire, on the 15th January, 1775, in his seventy-sixth year, leaving behind him the reputation of an upright judge. "Lord Strichen was a man not only honest, but highly generous; for, after his succession to the family estates, he paid a large sum of debts contracted by his predecessor, which he was not under any obligation to pay."

One of the last residents of note in Strichen's Close was Mr. John Grieve, a merchant in the Royal Exchange, who held the office of Lord

Provost in 1782-3, and again in 1786-7, and who was first a Town Councillor in 1765. When a magistrate he was publicly horsewhipped by some "Edinburgh bucks" of the day, for placing some females of doubtful repute in the City Guard House, under the care of the terrible Corporal Shon Dhu—an assault for which they were arrested and severely fined.

The house he occupied had an entrance from Strichen's Close; but was in reality one that belonged to the Regent Morton, having an entrance from the next street named the Blackfriars Wynd. He afterwards removed to a house in Princes Street, where he became one of the projectors of the Earthen Mound, which was long—as a mistake in the picturesque—justly stigmatised as the "Mud Brig," the east side of which was commenced a little to the eastward of the line of Hanover Street, opposite to the door of Provost Grieve's house, long ago turned into a shop. He died in 1803.

John Dhu, the personage referred to, was a well-known soldier of the City Guard, mentioned by Sir Walter Scott as one of the fiercest-looking men he had ever seen. "That such an image of military violence should have been necessary at the close of the eighteenth century to protect the peace of a British city," says the editor of "Kay's Portraits," "presents us with a strange contrast of what we lately were and what we have now become. On one occasion, about the time of the French Revolution, when the Town Guard had been signalling the King's birthday by firing in the Parliament Square, being unusually pressed and insulted by the populace, this undaunted warrior turned upon one peculiarly outrageous member of the democracy, and, by one blow of his battle-axe, laid him lifeless on the causeway."

The old tenement, which occupied the ground between Strichen's Close and the Blackfriars Wynd (prior to its destruction in the fire of 22nd February, 1825), and was at the head of the latter, was known as "Lady Lovat's Land." It was seven storeys in height. There lived Primrose Campbell of Mamore, widow of Simon Lord Lovat, who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1747, and there, 240 years before her time, dwelt Walter Chepman of Ewirland, who, with Miller, in 1507, under the munificent auspices of James IV., introduced the first printing press into Scotland, and on the basement of whose edifice a house of the Revolutiōn period had been engrafted.

Though his abode was here in the High Street, his printing-house was in the Cowgate, from whence, in 1508, "The Knightly Tale of Golagras and Gawane" was issued; and this latter is supposed

to be the same tenement with which he endowed an altar in the chapel of the Holy Rood, at the south or lower end of St. Giles's churchyard.

From the trial in 1514, the year after Flodden, of "ane quit for slauchter in his awin defence," we learn that Walter Chepman was Dean of Guild for the City.

"The 24th day of October, anno suprascript, Alexander Livingstone indytit and accusit for the art and pairt of the creuall slauchter of umquhile

Lady Lovat—niece of the first Duke of Argyll—was born in 1710, and, under great domestic pressure, became the wife of that cunning and politic old lord, who was thirty years her senior, and by no means famous for his tenderness to her predecessor, Janet Grant of that ilk. She passed years of seclusion at Castle Downey, where, while treated with outward decorum, she was secretly treated with a barbarity that might have broken another woman's heart. Confined to one apartment, she



HOUSE OF THE ABBOTS OF MELROSE, STRICHEN'S CLOSE.

(From an Engraving in the Roxburgh Edition of Sir Walter Scott's "Monastery.")

Jak, upoun the Burrowmuir of Edinburgh in this month of September by-past. Thai beand removit furth of court, and again in enterit, they fand and deliverit the said Alexander quit and innocent of ye said slauchter, because thai clearlie knew it was in his pure defence. John Livingstoune petiit instrumenta. Testibus Patricio Barroun et Johanne Irland, Ballivis, Magistro Jacobo Wischeart de Pitgarro, clerico Justiciario S.D.N. Regis, Waltero Chepman Decano Gild, Johanne Adamson juniore, Jacobo Barroun, Patricio Fleming, et multis aliis."

This, says Annot, is the earliest trial to be found in the records of the city of Edinburgh.

was seldom permitted to leave it, even for meals, and was supplied for these with coarse scraps from his lordship's table. They had one son, Archibald Fraser, afterwards a merchant in London, and before his birth the old lord swore that if she brought forth a girl he would roast it to death on the back of the fire; and he often threatened her, that if aught befel the two boys of his first marriage in his absence, he would shoot her through the head. "A lady, the intimate friend of her youth," says Sir Walter Scott, "was instructed to visit Lady Lovat, as if by accident, to ascertain the truth of those rumours concerning her husband's conduct which had reached the ears of her family.

She was received by Lord Lovat with an extravagant affectation of welcome, and with many assurances of the happiness his lady would derive from seeing her. The chief then went to the lonely tower in which Lady Lovat was secluded, without decent clothes, and even without sufficient nourishment. He laid a dress before her becoming her rank, commanded her to put it on, to appear and to receive her friend as if she were the mistress of the house in which she was, in fact, a half-starved prisoner. And such was the strict watch he maintained, and the terror which his character inspired, that the visitor durst not ask, nor Lady Lovat communicate, anything respecting her real situation."

Long after, by a closely-written letter, concealed in a clue of yarn dropped over a window of the Castle to a confidant below, she was enabled to let her relations know how she was treated, and means were taken to separate her judicially from her husband.

When, years after, his share in the Jacobite rising in 1745 brought him to the Tower of London, Lady Lovat thought only of her duties as a wife, and offered to attend him there; but he declined the proposal, and the letter in which he did so contained the only expressions of kindness he had bestowed upon her since their marriage day; but he made no reference to her in the farewell letter which he sent to his son Simon, the Master of Lovat, to whose care he specially commended his other children.

After his execution some demur arose about the jointure of his unfortunate widow—only £190 per annum—and for years she was left destitute, till some of her friends, among others Lord Strichen, offered money on loan, which, being of an independent spirit, she declined. At length the dispute was settled, and she received a pretty large sum of

arrears, £500 of which she spent in furnishing her house at the head of the Blackfriars Wynd; and small though her income she was long famous in Edinburgh for her charity and goodness to the poor.

In her gloomy house, on the first floor of the turnpike stair, with a cook, maid, and page, she not only maintained herself in the style of a gentleman of the period, but could give a warm welcome to many a poor Highland cousin whose all was lost on the field of Culloden.

Lady Dorothea Primrose, who was her niece, and third daughter of Archibald first Earl of Rosebery, lived with her for many years, and to her, in the goodness of her heart, she assigned the brightest rooms, that overlooked the broad High Street, contenting herself with the gloomier, that faced the wynd. There, too, she supported for years another broken-down old lady, the Mistress of Elphinstone, whose nightly supper of porridge was on one occasion fatally poisoned by a half-idiot grandson of her ladyship.

She was small in stature, and retained much of her beauty

and singular delicacy of feature and complexion even in old age. "When at home her dress was a red silk gown, with ruffled cuffs, and sleeves puckered like a man's shirt, a fly-cap encircling the head, with a mob-cap laid across it, falling over the cheeks and tied under the chin; her hair dressed and powdered; a double muslin handkerchief round the neck and bosom; *lammer-beads*; a white lawn apron edged with lace; black stockings with red gushets, and high-heeled shoes. . . . As her chair emerged from the head of the Blackfriars Wynd, any one who saw her sitting in it, so neat and fresh and clean, would have taken her for a queen in wax-work pasted up in a glass case."



BLACKFRIARS WYND.

One of her chief intimates was the unfortunate Lady Jane Douglas of Grantully, the heroine of the long-contested Douglas cause. She contemplated the approach of her own death with perfect calmness, and in anticipation of her coming demise had all her grave-clothes ready, and the turnpike stair whitewashed. When asked by her only son, Archibald (before mentioned), if she wished to be put in the family burial vault at Beaufort, in Kilmorack, she replied, "Indeed, Archie, ye needna put yoursel to any fash about me, for I carena though ye lay me aneath that hearthstane."

She died in her house at the Wynd head, in 1796, in the eighty-sixth year of her age. The old Scottish tirling-pin of her house door is now preserved in the Museum of the Scottish Antiquarian Society.

Her stepson, Simon, Master of Lovat, who died a Lieutenant-General in 1782, was a man of irreproachable character, who inherited nothing of old Lovat's nature but a genius for making fine speeches. He raised the Fraser Highlanders, or old 71st regiment, which was disbanded in 1783, after a career of brilliant

service in America. The rapidity with which the ranks of previous Highland regiments, raised by him in 1757, were filled by Frasers, so pleased George III., that on the embodiment of the 71st he received from the king a free grant of his family estates of Lovat, which had been forfeited by his father's attainder after Culloden.

At the first muster of the 71st in Glasgow, an old Highlander, who had brought a son to enlist, and was looking on, shook the general's hand with that familiarity so common among clansmen, and said, "Simon, you are a good soldier, and speak like a man! While you live old Simon of Lovat will never die"—alluding to his close resemblance personally to his father, the wily old lord of the memorable "Forty-five."

Blackfriars Wynd, which has now become a broad street, has many a stirring memory of the great and powerful, who dwelt there in ages past; hence it is that Sir Alexander Boswell wrote—

"What recollections rush upon my mind,  
Of Lady Stair's Close and Blackfriars Wynd!  
There once our nobles, and here judges dwelt."



TIRLING-PIN, FROM LADY  
LOVAT'S HOUSE, BLACK-  
FRIARS WYND.

(From the Scottish Antiquarian  
Museum.)

## CHAPTER XXXI.

### ALLEYS OF THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

Blackfriars Wynd—The Grant of Alexander II.—Bothwell slays Sir William Stewart—Escape of Archbishop Sharp—Cameronian Meeting-house—The House of the Regent Morton—Catholic Chapels of the Eighteenth Century—Bishop Hay—"No Popery" Riots—Baron Smith's Chapel—Scottish Episcopalians—House of the Prince of Orkney—Magnificence of Earl William Sinclair—Cardinal Beaton's House—The Cardinal's Armorial Bearings—Historical Associations of his House—Its Ultimate Occupants—The United Industrial School.

A BROAD *pend* (*Anglicé* archway), leading through the successor to the tenement in which Lady Lovat dwelt, gave access to the Blackfriars Wynd, which, without doubt, was one of the largest, most important, and most ancient of the thoroughfares diverging from the High Street, and which of old was named the Preaching Friars' Vennel, as it led to the Dominican monastery, or Black Friary, founded by Alexander II., in 1230, on the high ground beyond the Cowgate, near where the Old Infirmary stands. The king gave the friars—among whom he resided for some time—with many other endowments, a grant of the whole ground now occupied by the old wynd and modern street, to erect houses, and for five centuries these edifices

formed the dwelling-places of some of the most aristocratic families in Scotland, and of many ecclesiastics of the highest rank.

Many a fierce struggle between armed men has taken place here, among them the most important being that of "Cleanse the Causeway," when the victorious Douglasses under the fiery Angus swept the Hamiltons before them, and rushed in mad *mêlée* to assail the palace of the Archbishop of Glasgow at the Wynd foot, from whence he fled for shelter to the Dominican church, on the opposite slope. And here, in July, 1588, occurred the bloody brawl between the Earl of Bothwell and Sir William Stewart of Monkton.

Between these two a quarrel had taken place in

the king's chamber; the lie was given, and a somewhat ribald altercation followed, but nothing occurred for nearly three weeks after, till Sir William Stewart, when coming down the High Street with a party of his friends, met Bothwell, accompanied by the Master of Gray and others, going up.

A collision between two such parties was but natural, and, in the spirit of the times, unavoidable. Sword and dagger were instantly resorted to, and in the general fight Sir William Stewart slew a friend of Bothwell's, but in doing so lost his sword, and, being defenceless, was compelled to fly into Blackfriars Wynd. Thither the vengeful Bothwell pursued him, and, as he stood unarmed against a wall, "strake him in the back and out at the belly, and killed him."

For this Bothwell found it necessary to keep out of the way only for a few days; and such events so commonly occurred, that it is not curious to find the General Assembly, exactly a week after this combat, proceeding quietly with the usual work of choosing a Moderator, providing for ministers, and denouncing Popery, exactly as they do in the reign of Queen Victoria.

The next most remarkable event was in 1668, when, on Saturday the 9th of July, James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, whose residence was then in the Wynd, so narrowly escaped assassination.

His apostacy from the Covenant, and unrelenting persecution of his former compatriots, its adherents, had roused the bitterness of the people against him. He was seated in his coach, at the head of the Wynd, waiting for Andrew Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, when Mitchell, a fanatical assassin and preacher, and bosom friend of the infamous Major Weir, with whom he was then boarding in the house of Mrs. Griseld Whiteford in the Cowgate, fired a pistol at the primate, but, missing him, dangerously wounded the Bishop of Orkney. He was immediately seized, and, with little regard to morality or justice, put to the torture, without eliciting any confession; and after two years seclusion on the Bass Rock, he was brought to Edinburgh in 1676, and executed in the Grassmarket, to strike terror into the Covenanters; but history has shown that their hearts never knew what terror was.

Sir William Honeyman, Bart., Lord Armadale in 1797, was the fourth in descent from the bishop who was wounded on this occasion by a poisoned bullet, as it is affirmed.

While much of the west side of Blackfriars Wynd was left standing, the east, in the city improvements, was completely swept away. On the

latter side, near the head of the wynd, was a house with a decorated lintel, inscribed—*IN THE LORD. IS MY HOPE. 1564*. The ground floor of it consisted of one great apartment, the roof or ceiling of which was upheld by a massive stone column. This hall formed the meeting-place of those who adhered to the Covenanted Kirk, after the Revolution of 1688, and was long known as "The Auld Cameronian Meeting-house," and in the upper storey thereof tradition alleges that Nicol Muschat, the murderer, lived, when a student attending the university.

On the west side of the Wynd was the ancient residence of the Earls of Morton, with a handsome ogee door-head and elaborate mouldings, shafted jambs, and in the tympanum of the lintel a coroneted shield supported by unicorns, though the arms of the family have always had two savages, or wild men, hence the edifice is supposed to be of a date anterior to the days of the Regent. Yet it is distinctly described, in a disposition by Archibald Douglas younger of Whittinghame, as "that tenement which was sometime the Earl of Morton's," from which, according to Wilson, it may be inferred to have been the residence of his direct ancestor, John second Earl of Morton, who sat in the Parliament of James IV. in 1504, and whose grandson, William Douglas of Whittinghame, was created a senator of the College of Justice in 1575.

Tradition has unvaryingly alleged this house to have been that of the Regent Morton, in those days when the king's men and queen's men were fighting all over the city, and Kirkaldy of Grange was bent upon driving him out of it; and here no doubt it was that he had his body-guard, which was commanded by Alexander Montgomery the poet, whom Melvil in his diary mentions as "Captain Montgomery, a good honest man, and the Regent's domestic;" and the house is often referred to, during the civil wars of that period, before he attained the Regency.

While Lennox was in office, Morton projected the assassination of the Laird of Drumquhasel, whom the former confined to his residence in Leith as a protection. This Morton deemed an affront to himself, and prepared to leave Leith and the king's standard together. "Alarmed by the probable loss of the most influential earl of the house of Douglas, the weak Regent, affecting to be ignorant of his wrathful intentions, sent a servant to acquaint him that 'he meant to dine with him that day,' 'I am sorry I cannot have the high honour of his lordship's company,' replied the haughty earl; 'my business is pressing, and obliges me to leave Leith without even bidding him adieu.' Lennox was

equally irritated and alarmed on hearing of this flat refusal, and, starting from his chair exclaimed, 'Then, by the holy name of God, he shall eat his dinner with *me!*' and repairing instantly to the house of Morton, brought about a reconciliation,

to Leith to beg his life as a boon at the hands of Lennox and her seducer. But the latter, inflamed anew by her charms and tears, was inflexible; the Regent was his tool, and the prayers and tears of the wretched wife were poured forth at their feet



HOUSE OF THE EARLS OF MORTON, BLACKFRIARS STREET

by making two very humbling concessions, first, by dismissing Drumquhasel, who was banished from court, which he was not to approach within ten miles under a heavy penalty, second, the life of Captain James Cullayne, that Morton might have more peaceable possession of his wife Mistress Cullayne, a woman of great beauty, filled with pity by the danger impending over her husband (then a prisoner), and touched with remorse for her former inconstancy, had come

in vain. The poor captain, who had seen many a hot battle in the fields of the Dane and Swede, and in the wars of his native country, was ignominiously hanged on a gibbet, as a peace offering to Morton's wickedness."

In the contemporary life of Queen Mary, printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1834, we have the following strange anecdote of Morton. We are told that he "had credite at the court, being left there by the traitoures to give intelligence of all

maters past there, and how to betray his mistres; for they could not chuse a more fitte man than him to do such an act, who, from his very youth had been renouned for his treacherie, and of whom his oune father had no good opinion in his very infance; for, at a certain time, his coming forth with him in a garden where his father was, with some one that had come to visit him, busy in talk, the nurse setting down the childe on the green grass, and not much mindinge him, *the boy seeth a toade*, which he snatched up and had eaten it all till a little of the legges, which when shee saw, shee cried out, thinking he should have been poisoned, and shee taking the legges of the toade that he had left as yet oneaten, he cried out so loud and shrill, that his father and the other gentleman heard the outcries, who went to see what should be the cause, and when the messinger returned and told the mater as it happened, in all haste he come to where his son was, and, save the legges, which he greedilie ate up also; which the father seeing, said, 'The deville chew thee, or burste thee! there will never come good of thee!' As he prognosticated so it happened, for he was beheaded at Edinburgh, attainted and found guiltie of heigh treason for the murder of the king his maister."

William Douglas of Whitting-

hame, grandson of Archibald who made a disposition of the house in Blackfriars Wynd, was a contemporary of Morton's, and was closely associated with him in the murder of Darnley. His name appears as one of the judges, in the act "touching the proceedings of the Gordons and Forbesses," and he resigned his seat as senator in 1590.

Lower down, on the east side of the wynd, was a most picturesque building, part of which was long used as a Catholic chapel. It was dated 1619, and had carved above its door the motto of the city, together with the words, *In te Domine speravi—Pax intransitibus—Salvus exiitibus—Blissit be God in all his gifts.*

On the fifth floor of this tenement was a large room, which during the greater part of the eighteenth century was used as a place of worship by the Scottish Catholics, and, until its demolition lately, there still remained painted on the door the name of the old bishop—*Mr. Hay*—for, in those days he dared designate himself nothing more. He was celebrated in theological literature as the

opponent of Bishop William Abernethy Drummond of the Scottish Episcopal Church, one of the few clergymen who paid his respects to Charles Edward when he kept his court at Holyrood. By his energy Dr. Hay constructed a chapel in Chalmers's Close, which was destroyed in 1779, when an attempt to repeal the penal statutes against Catholics roused a "No Popery" cry in Edinburgh. On the 2nd of February a mob, including 500 sailors from Leith, burned this chapel and plundered another, while the bishop was living in the Blackfriars Wynd, and the house of every Catholic in Edinburgh was sacked and destroyed.

Principal Robertson, who was supposed to be friendly to Catholics, and defended them in the ensuing General Assembly, had his house attacked, his

library nearly destroyed, and was obliged to take shelter among the troops in the castle. Dr. Hay, who now lies interred in an obscure churchyard, without a stone to mark his grave, was the last of the bishops in Blackfriars Wynd. The upper portion of the tenement he occupied was destroyed by fire in 1791. It was seven storeys in height, as appears by an account of the conflagration in the *Scots Magazine* for that year, which adds, "many poor families have lost their all. An

old respectable citizen, above 80, was carried out during the fire. Happily, no lives were lost."

Nearly opposite to it was another large tenement, the upper storey of which was also long used as a Catholic chapel, and as such was dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle of Scotland, until it was quitted, in 1813, for a more complete and ornate church, St. Mary's in Broughton Street. After it was abandoned, "the interior of the chapel retained much of its original state till its demolition. The framework of the simple altar-piece still remained, though the rude painting of the patron saint of Scotland which originally filled it had disappeared. Humble as must have been the appearance of this chapel—even when furnished with every adjunct of Catholic ceremonial for Christmas or Easter festivals, aided by the imposing habits of the officiating priests that gathered round its little altar—yet men of high rank and ancient lineage were wont to assemble among the worshippers."

With others, here came constantly to mass and



STONE, SHOWING THE ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF CARDINAL BEATON, FROM HIS HOUSE, BLACKFRIARS WYND.

(From the Scottish Antiquarian Museum)



other services, Charles Philip Count d'Artois, brother of the ill-fated Louis XVI., and his son the Duc d'Angoulême, while, in the earlier years of their exile, they resided at Holyrood, by permission of the British Government, though the people of Scotland liked to view it as in virtue of the ancient Alliance; and a most humble place of worship it must have seemed to the count, who is described as having been "the most gay, gaudy, fluttering, accomplished, luxurious, and expensive prince in Europe." A doorway inscribed in antique characters of the 16th century, *Miserere mei Deus*, gave access to this chapel. It bore a shield in the centre with three mullets in chief, a plain cross, and two swords saltire-ways—the coat armorial of some long-forgotten race.

Another old building adjoined, above the door of which was the pious legend ranged in two lines, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of al wisdom*, but as to the generations of men that dwelt there not even a tradition remains.

Lower down, at the south-west corner of the Wynd, there formerly stood the English Episcopal Chapel, founded, in 1722, by the Lord Chief Baron Smith of the Exchequer Court, for a clergyman qualified to take the oaths to Government. To endow it he vested a sum in the public funds for the purpose of yielding £40 per annum to the incumbent, and left the management in seven trustees nominated by himself. The Baron's chapel existed for exactly a century; it was demolished in 1822, after serving as a place of worship for all loyal and devout Episcopal High Churchmen at a time when Episcopacy and Jacobitism were nearly synonymous terms in Scotland. It was the most fashionable church in the city, and there it was that Dr. Johnson sat in 1773, when on his visit to Boswell. When this edifice was founded, according to Arnot, it was intended that its congregation should unite with others of the Episcopal persuasion in the new chapel; but the incumbent, differing from his hearers about the mode of his settlement there, chose to withdraw himself again to that in which he was already established.

After the accession of George III., "certain officious people" lodged information against some of the Episcopal clergymen; "but," says Arnot, "the officers of state, imitating the liberality and clemency of their gracious master, discountenanced such idle and invidious endeavours at oppression."

In the Blackfriars Wynd—though in what part thereof is not precisely known now, unless on the site of Baron Smith's chapel—the semi-royal House of Sinclair had a town mansion. They were

Princes and Earls of Orkney, Lords of Roslin, Dukes of Oldenburg, and had a list of titles that has been noted for its almost Spanish tediousness.

In his magnificence, Earl William—who built Roslin Chapel, was High Chancellor in 1455, and ambassador to England in the same year—far surpassed what had often sufficed for the kings of Scotland. His princess, Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald Duke of Touraine, according to Father Hay, in his "Genealogie of the Sainte Claires of Rosslyn," was waited upon by "seventy-five gentlewomen, whereof fifty-three were daughters of noblemen, all clothed in velvets and silks, with their chains of gold and other pertinents; together with two hundred riding gentlemen, who accompanied her in all her journeys. She had carried before her, when she went to Edinburgh, if it were darke, eighty lighted torches. Her lodging was at the foot of Blackfryer Wynde; so that in a word, none matched her in all the country, save the Queen's Majesty." Father Hay tells us, too, that Earl William "kept a great court, and was royally served at his own table in vessels of gold and silver: Lord Dirleton being his master of the household, Lord Borthwick his cupbearer, and Lord Fleming his carver, in whose absence they had deputies, viz., Stewart, Laird of Drumlanrig; Tweedie, Laird of Drummelzier; and Sandilands, Laird of Calder. He had his halls and other apartments richly adorned with embroidered hangings."

At the south-east end of the Wynd, and abutting on the Cowgate, where its high octagon turret, on six rows of corbels springing from a stone shaft, was for ages a prominent feature, stood the archiepiscopal palace, deemed in its time one of the most palatial edifices of old Edinburgh.

It formed two sides of a quadrangle, with a *porte cochère* that gave access to a court behind, and was built by James Bethune, who was Archbishop of Glasgow (1508—1524), Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1512, and one of the Lords Regent, under the Duke of Albany, during the stormy minority of James V. Pitscottie distinctly refers to it as the archbishop's house, "quhilk he biggit in the Freiris Wynd," and Keith records that over the door of it were the arms of the family of Bethune, to be seen in his time. But they had disappeared long before the demolition of the house, the ancient risp of which was sold among the collection of the late C. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, in 1851. Another from the same house is in the museum of the Scottish Antiquaries. The stone bearing the coat of arms was also in his possession, and it is thus referred to by Nisbet in

his Heraldry:—"With us (the Scots) angels have been frequently made use of as supporters. Cardinal Beaton had his, supported by two angels, in Dalmatic habits, or, as some say, priestly ones, which are yet to be seen on his lodgings in Blackfriars Wynd." The cardinal's arms, as borne on his archiepiscopal seal, are Bethune and Balfour quarterly, with a cross-crosslet-headed pastoral staff, and the tasselled hat over all.

Upon all the buildings erected by the archbishop "his armorial bearings were conspicuously displayed," says Wilson, "and a large stone tablet remained, till a few years since, over the archway of Blackfriars Wynd, leading into the inner court, supported by two angels in Dalmatic habits, and surmounted by a crest, sufficiently defaced to enable antiquaries to discover in it either a mitre or a cardinal's hat, according as their theory of the original ownership inclined towards the archbishop or his more celebrated nephew the cardinal."

Occupying the space between Blackfriars Wynd and Toddrick's Wynd, the archiepiscopal palace afforded a striking example of the revolutions effected by time and change of manners on the ancient abodes of the opulent and the noble. As it appeared before its demolition no doubt could be entertained that some portions of it had been rebuilt, to suit the requirements of its last humble denizens, but much remained to form connecting-links in the long chain of ages. The whole of the entrance floor had been strongly groined with stone, built on solid pillars, calculated to afford protection during the brawls and conflicts of the times.

Within the arched passage that led from the Wynd a broad flight of steps led to the first floor of the palace, a mode of construction common in those days, when the architect had to consider security, and how the residents might resist an attack till terms were obtained, or succour came. In early times the whole of the space occupied by the Mint in the Cowgate and other buildings to the north thereof had been the garden grounds of the archiepiscopal residence.

Here it was, as we have related, that the Earl of Arran and his armed adherents held their stormy conclave on the 30th of April, 1520, concerting the capture and death of Angus, whose war array held the High Street and barricaded the close-heads; and here it was that Gawain Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, and translator of Virgil, whose two brothers fell at Flodden, called on the archbishop, and strove to keep the peace in vain, for the prelate was already in his armour, and the dreadful conflict of "Cleanse the Causeway" ensued, giving victory to the Douglasses, and compelling the

fugitive archbishop, during 1525, the time they were in power, to seek safety in the disguise of a shepherd, and, literally, crook in hand, to tend flocks of sheep on Bograin-knowe, not far from his diocesan city of Glasgow.

James V. took up his abode in the archiepiscopal palace in 1528, preparatory to the meeting of Parliament, and the archbishop, who had been one of the most active promoters of his liberation from the Douglas faction, became his host and entertainer. Here, in after years, resided his nephew, David Beaton, the formidable cardinal, who, in 1547, was murdered so barbarously in the castle of St. Andrews, and here also was literally the cradle of the now famous High School of Edinburgh, as it was occupied as the "Grammar Skule" in 1555, while that edifice, which stood eastward of the Kirk-of-field, was in course of erection.

We next hear of the little palace in the reign of Mary. On the 8th of February, 1562, her brother, the Lord James Stewart, "newly created Earl of Mar (afterwards Moray)" "was married upon Agnes Keith, daughter to William Earl Marischal," says the Diurnal of Occurrents, "in the kirk of Sanct Geil, in Edinburgh, with solemnity as the like has not been seen before; the hale nobility of this realm being there present, and convoyit them down to Holyrood House, where the banquet was made, the queen's grace thereat." After music and dancing, casting of fire-balls, tilting with fire-spears, and much jollity, next evening the queen, with all her court, came up in state from Holyrood "to the cardinal's lodging in the Blackfriar Wynd, which was preparit and hung maist honourably." Then the queen and her courtiers had a joyous supper, after which all the young craftsmen of the city came in their armour, and conveyed her back to Holyrood. Up Blackfriars Wynd, past the house of the late cardinal, Queen Mary proceeded on the fatal night of the 9th of February, 1567, about the same time nearly that Bothwell and his accomplices passed down the next alley, on their way to the Kirk-of-field. She had dined that day at Holyrood, and about eight in the evening went to sup with the Bishop of Argyle. At nine she rose from the table, and accompanied by the Earls of Argyle, Cassilis, and Huntly, escorted by her archer-guard and torch-bearers, went to visit Darnley in the lonely Kirk-of-field, intending to remain there for the night, but returned home. As she was proceeding, three of Bothwell's retainers, Dalgleish, Powrie, and Wilson, in their depositions, stated that after conveying the powder-bags to the convent gate, at the foot of the Blackfriars Wynd, they saw "the Quenes grace gangand

before them with light torches," on which Powrie, as if conscience-stricken, exclaimed to Wilson, "Jesu! Pate! What na gate is this we are gang-ing? I trow it be not gude."

About 1780-9 the cardinal's house was the residence of Bishop Abernethy Drummond, whom we have noticed as the theological opponent of Bishop Hay, and hither he must have brought his wife, the heiress of Hawthornden. This divine occupied a high place in the society of his time, and was particularly active in obtaining the repeal of the penal statutes against his church in Scotland. Latterly the house was divided, like all its neighbours, into a multitude of small lodgings, where squalid poor folk—chiefly Irish—pined on parochial allowance, and slept on beds of straw mingled with rags—"the terrible exponent of our peculiar phasis of civilisation."

But very different was the aspect of society at the time when the *Edinburgh Gazette* of 19th April, 1703, put forth the following advertisement:—

"There is a boarding-school to be set up in Blackfriars Wynd, in Robinson's Land, upon the west side of the Wynd, near the middle thereof, in the first door of the stair leading to the said land, against the latter end of May, or first of June next, when young ladies and gentlemen may have all sorts of breeding that is to be had in any part of Britain, and great care taken of their conversation."

Nearly all that we have described here has been swept away by the trustees of the Edinburgh Improvement Act, and the ancient Wynd is now designated Blackfriars Street. By that Act, passed in 1867, a tax was imposed, not exceeding fourpence in the pound, for a period of twenty years, and the trustees were authorised to borrow, on the security of that assessment, a total sum of £350,000. At

the 1st of August, 1884, the total expenditure was £547,968 13s. 5d.; the receipts amounted to £499,675 1s. 4d.; and the unrecovered outlay was £48,293 12s. 1d. This money obligation will, it is expected, be cleared off in about three years.

Blackfriars Wynd was among the places "improved;" the east side was swept away and replaced by buildings in the old Scottish style; but,

by a somewhat short-sighted policy perhaps, the west was left untouched. The footway on the west side was at first so far below the level of the street as to necessitate its being fenced off from the carriage-road by an open railing, thus imparting an incomplete aspect to the thoroughfare. The western footway, however, by an arrangement with the proprietors, was, at a later date, levelled up to the surface of the street. Between these old houses on the west an extensive area was thrown open between Cant's and Dickson's Closets, thus greatly improving the amenity and sanitary condition of the district, but at the sacrifice of much that belonged to the past and the picturesque.

The United Industrial School in Blackfriars Street exhibits in a manner perhaps unexampled the successful solution of that great problem, a comprehensive unsectarian system of national education. There is surely something striking in the character of a ragged school among whose founders were such men as the Earls of Minto and Elgin, Lords Dunfermline, Murray, and Jeffrey, Sir William G. Craig, Adam Black, and William Chambers.

In 1847 Dr. Guthrie first drew attention to the condition of the juvenile beggars of Edinburgh, and his noble proposal to establish a ragged school to be supported by "Christians of all denominations and parties," was eagerly taken up. The lines upon which the suggestion was practically carried



CARDINAL BEATON'S HOUSE.

out were subsequently considerably enlarged, and the United Industrial School was the ultimate result of the modification of the original plan.

According to a paper which was read before the Social Science Association, on occasion of its meeting at Edinburgh in 1863, the United Indus

on June 29, 1876, the day of inspection, may be considered to represent a fairly typical statement of the average condition of the school. According to this report, the number of inmates stood thus — "Boys, 122, girls, 34. Of these 100 boys and 20 girls were under detention, 13 boys and



EDINBURGH UNITED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

trial School had been found to work most satisfactorily. The plan on which the school 'was instituted in 1847, and on which it has now (1863) for nearly a quarter of a century been conscientiously and successfully conducted is that of combined instruction in things secular, separate in things religious. The school is attended by both Protestant and Catholic children, boys and girls."

Statistics of such institutions may vary a little from year to year, but the printed report issued

14 girls on the voluntary list, and 9 day scholars, of these 70 were Protestant and 86 Roman Catholics. The cases of absconding are few, and the punishments small. The industrial training is regarded with the full consideration it deserves. There are brushmaking, carpentry, turning, tailoring, shoemaking, and wood cutting, for the boys; school washing, cooking, household work, and knitting, for the girls. The net cost per head, including profit and loss on the industrial departments,

was, in 1876, £12 5s. 2d., the total cost being £1,990 18s. 2d.

The directors of the United Industrial School may fairly claim to have practically solved the greatest difficulty of the educational question; and their institution was one of the earliest of its class to give effect to the discovery that the training of "ragged school" pupils in such merely mechanical and elementary work as teasing hair, picking oakum, net-making, and so forth, was little better than a waste of time, when compared with that initiation in skilled handicrafts of the simple order, which would qualify the children on leaving school to assume something like an independent position in life. In the annual report for 1860 appears the

following:—"The total number of children who have received the benefit of our school is 950, and Mr. Fergusson has by patient and laborious investigation, during six months past, ascertained the present earnings of upwards of two-thirds of that number. These earnings represent the scarcely credible sum of £11,596. From the report of the following year we learn that the superintendent, by a most strict investigation, found the sum of annual earning that year was nearly £1,000 higher—the nett sum being £12,472."

This elaborate record has not been kept up; but there is no reason to doubt that had it been so, the succeeding years would have shown the same result.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

### ALLEYS OF THE HIGH STREET (*continued*).

Toddick's Wynd—Banquet to the Danish Ambassador and Nobles—Lord Leven's House in Skinner's Close—The First Mint Houses—The Mint—Scottish Coin—Mode of its Manufacture—Argyle's Lodging—Dr. Cullen—Elphinstone's Court—Lords Loughborough and Stonefield—Lord Selkirk—Dr. Rutherford, the Inventor of Gas.

BELOW Blackfriars Street opens Toddick's Wynd, to which a special interest is attached, from its association with one of the darkest deeds of a lawless age, for it was by that dark and narrow alley that James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell and his heartless accomplices proceeded towards the gate of the Blackfriars monastery in the Cowgate, on the night of the 9th of February, 1567, to fire the powder lodged in the vaults of the provost's house in the Kirk-of-field,

— "and blew a palace into atoms,  
Sent a young king—a young queen's mate at least,  
Into the air, as high as e'er flew night-hawk,  
And made such wild work in the realm of Scotland  
As they can tell who heard."

Till the recent demolitions, the closes between this point and the Netherbow remained unchanged in aspect, and in the same state for centuries, save that they had become woefully degraded by the habits, character, and rank of their inhabitants.

In Toddick's Wynd, a lofty building with a massive polished ashlar front at the foot thereof, and long forming a prominent object amid the faded grandeur of the Cowgate, was the abode of Thomas Aitchison, master of the Mint; and therein, in 1590, the provost and magistrates, at the expense of the city, gave a grand banquet to the ambassador and nobles of Denmark, who had come to Scotland in the train of Queen Anne.

The handsome alcoved chamber in which the

banquet was given existed till recently; but the style of the entertainment would seem to have been remarkable for abundance rather than elegance. There were simply bread and meat, with four boins of beer, four gangs of ale, and four puncheons of wine. The house, however, was hung with rich tapestry, and the tables were decorated with chandeliers and flowers. We hear, too, of napery, of "two dozen great vessels," and of "cup-buirds and men to keep them." The furnishing of the articles had been distributed among the dignitaries of the city, with some reference to their respective trades. Among those present at the banquet were Peiter Monck, admiral of Denmark; Stephen Brahe (a relative, perhaps, of the great Tycho Brahe) captain of Eslingburg; Braid Ransome Maugaret; Theophilus, Doctor of Laws; Henry Goolister, captain of Bocastle; William Vanderwent—whose names are doubtless all misspelt in the record.

The "napery" on this occasion was provided by the Lord Provost, and the musicians, "fydleris at the bankit," as it is written in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts, were paid for by him. He had also to pay "for furnessing fyftene fedder beddis to the Densis (Danes) within the palice of Halierudhous."

Murdoch's Close, a gloomy old cul-de-sac, lay between this alley and Skipner's Close, at the head of which was the town house of the Earls of Leven. The last who resided in Edinburgh, David, sixth Earl, who was born in 1722, and who was wont,

when Royal Commissioner, to hold his levées in Fortune's tavern, removed from Skinner's Close to a house at the north-west corner of Nicolson Square, and latterly at No. 2, St. Andrew Square (now the London Hotel), where he died, in his eightieth year, in 1802.

In his lordship's time the office of Commissioner to the Church, which he held from 1783 to 1801, was attended with more "pomp and circumstance" than now. The levées were numerous attended by the Scottish nobility, and the opening procession to the Assembly created great excitement and enthusiasm. The Sunday processions to church were usually very attractive; there was a strong military force always present, and as the regimental bands were all in requisition, their music, which always struck up the moment the procession began to issue from the old Stamp Office, gave keen annoyance to many a sturdy Presbyterian, till it ceased at the High Church door, whither the Commissioner proceeded on foot, escorted by his guard of honour.

South Gray's, or the Mint Close, was one of the staliest alleys in the old city, and herein stood the *Cunsie Hous*, as the Scottish Mint was named (after its removal from near Holyrood in Queen Mary's time) till the Union in 1707, and until lately its sombre and massive tower of finely polished ashlar projecting into the narrow thoroughfare of Cowgate, for three hundred and four years formed one of the leading features of the latter, and to the last the old edifice retained many traces of the important operations that once went on within its walls.

The first Mint House had been originally erected in the outer court of the palace of Holyrood, somewhere near the Horse Wynd, from whence, for greater safety, it was removed to the castle, in which a new Mint House had been built in 1559, as shown by

the following entry in the accounts of the High Treasurer, under date February, 1562-3:—

"Item, allowit to the carpenter, be payment maid to Johne Achesoun, Maister Congreave, to Maister William M'Dowgale, Maister of Werk, for expensis maide be him vpon the bigging of the cwnge-house, within the castell of Edinburgh, and beting of the cwnge-hous within the Palice of Halierud-house, fra the xi. day of Februar, 1559, zeria, to the

21 of April, 1560, £460 4s. 1." This edifice probably perished during the siege of 1572, and the date over the nobly and heavily moulded doorway in the new Mint in the Cowgate at the foot of Gray's Close was 1574, with the legend in Roman letters,

BEH MERCYFUL TO  
MI, O GOD.

Above this was a deep round bevelled niche, supposed to have contained a bust of James VI. "This remnant of one of the most important Government offices of Scotland, at that date, is a curious sample of the heavy and partially castellated



LINTEL OF THE DOOR OF THE MINT.  
(From a Drawing by the Author)

edifices of the period," says Wilson, describing the edifice prior to its removal. "The whole building was probably intended, when completed, to form a quadrangle, surrounded on every side by the same substantial walls, well suited for defence against any ordinary assault, while its halls were lighted from the enclosed court. The small windows in this part of the building remain in their original state, being divided by an oaken transom, and the under part closed by a pair of folding shutters. The massive ashlar walls are relieved by ornamental stringcourses, and surmounted by crowsteps of the earliest form and elegant proportions. . . . The internal marks of former magnificence are more interesting than their external ones, notwithstanding the humble uses to which the buildings have latterly been applied; in particular some portions of a very fine oak ceiling still remain, wrought in Gothic panelling,

and retaining traces of the heraldic blazonry with which it was originally adorned. Two large and handsome windows, above the archway leading to Toddrick's Wynd, give light to this once magnificent hall, which is said to have formed the council-room where the officers of the Mint assembled to assay the metal, and to discuss the general affairs of the establishment."

It may surprise readers now to hear that much of the gold coined in this establishment, and its predecessors, was native produce.

The first historical notice we have of gold in Scotland is the grant by David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline, in 1153, of all the gold accruing to the crown from Fife and Fotherif. About a century later Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness (afterwards canon-



THE OLD SCOTTISH MINT. (After a Drawing by James Drummond, R.S.A.)

Wilson wrote this in 1847, thirty years before the old Scottish Mint was doomed to total destruction.

In the reign of Charles II. other buildings were added to the edifice of 1574, forming a stately quadrangle, and there the national coin was produced till the Union, when a separate coinage was abandoned in both countries; but to gratify prejudice, and the hope that many clung to, of having the Union repealed, the offices were maintained even though they were sinecures. This court, with its buildings, was, like the royal mews at the end of the Grassmarket—a sanctuary for persons prosecuted for debt; and a small den'hear the top of the building or 1574, lighted by a little window looking westward up the Cowgate, was used as a gaol for debtors and other delinquents, condemned by the officers of the Mint.

ised as St. Gilbert), is credited with the discovery of gold in Sutherlandshire; but it was not until the 15th century that gold mining in Scotland became of sufficient importance to warrant its regulation by the Legislature. Thus, in 1424, Parliament granted to the Crown all the gold mines in the realm, and also all the silver mines, that yielded three halfpennies of silver to the pound of lead.

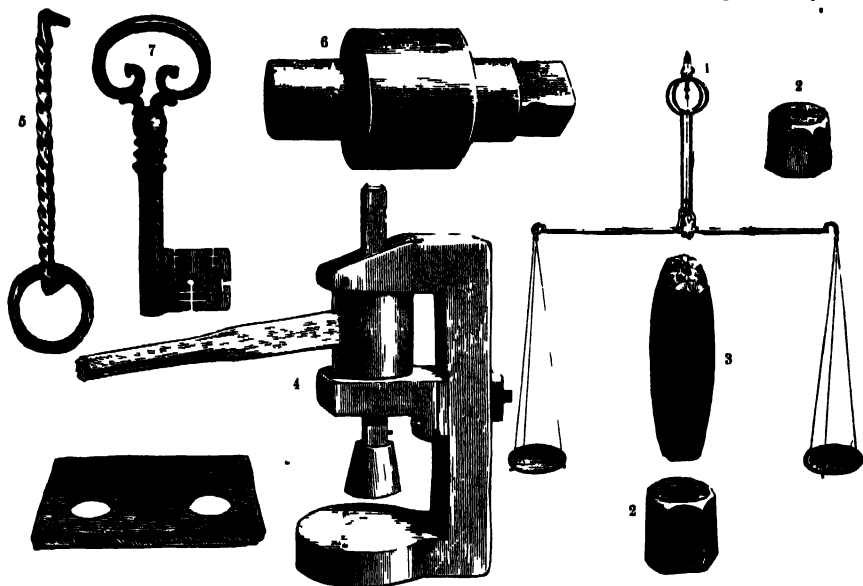
The disaster at Flodden prevented immediate advantage being taken of the gold mines discovered on Crawford Muir in the reign of James IV.; but in 1524 the famous Albany medal was made from gold obtained there; and it is apparent that much of the coin of James, V. was minted of native metal. Miners were brought from Germany, Holland, and Lorraine, and they worked under the care of John Mossman, goldsmith, who made a

crown for Mary of Guise, and inclosed with arches the present crown of Scotland.

The early gold coins of Mary's reign were of native ore, and, during the minority of James VI., Cornelius de Vos, a Dutchman, who had licence to seek for gold and silver, obtained considerable quantities, according to the records relating to mines and mining in Scotland, published by Mr Cochran-Patrick.

The oldest gold coin found in Scotland bears

under pain of death. The coins current in Scotland in the reign of James III. were named the demi, the lion, the groat of the crown, the groat of the fleur-de-lis, the penny, farthing, and plack. English coins were also current, but their value was regulated by the estates. From "Miscellaneous Scotica" we learn that in 1512 Sir Alexander Napier of Merchiston found gold in the Pentland Hills, and from the Balcarres MSS (in the Advocates' Library) he and his son figure conspicuously



REPLICS OF THE OLD SCOTTISH MINT

1, Delicate Set of Balances 2 Dies 3 Punch 4 Implements for Knarling the Coins 5 Large Ironing pin of the Mint 6 Roller for Flattening the Silver 7 Key of the Mint Door (From Originals in the Scottish Antiquaries)

the name of Robert, but which of the three monarchs so called is uncertain. Gold was not coined in England till 1257. The first gold coins struck in Scotland were of a broad surface and very thin. There is some doubt about when copper coinage was introduced, but in 1466, during the reign of James III., an Act was passed to the effect that, for the benefit of the poor, "there be coined copper money, four to the (silver) penny, having on the one part the cross of St. Andrew and the crown, and on the other part the subscription of Edinburgh," together with JAMES R.

The same monarch issued a silver coin containing an alloy of copper, which went under the name of black money, and to ensure the circulation of this depreciated coin the parliament ordained that no counterfeits of it be taken in payment, or used,

in connection with the Mint, of which the latter was general for some years after 1592.

In 1572 the Regent Morton coined base money in his castle at Dalkeith, and by proclamation made it pass current for thrice its real value, and having got rid of it all in 1575, by paying workmen in the repair of Edinburgh Castle and other public places, he issued a council order reducing it to its intrinsic value, an act of oppression which won him the hatred of the people. In the reign of James VI., all the silver coin, extending to two hundred and eleven stone ten pounds in weight, was called in, and a coin was issued from the Mint in Gray's Close, "in ten shilling pieces of eleven pennies fine," having on one side his effigy with the inscription, *Jacobus VI., Dei Gratia Rex Sotorum*, on the other the royal arms, crowned. In his reign



were also struck some very small copper coins called pennies, worth one-twelfth of the sterling penny, inscribed, *Nemo me impune lacessit*; but in those days the manufacture of coins was not confined to the capital alone.

Balfour records that, in 1604, "the Laird of Merchiston, General of the Cunyie House, went to London to treat with the English Commissioners anent the (new) cunyie, who, to the great amazement of the English, carried his business with a great deal of dexterity and skill."

In the closing days of the Mint as an active establishment, the coining-house was in the ground floor of the building on the north side of the court; in the adjoining house on the east the coinage was polished and fitted for circulation. The chief instruments used were a hammer and steel dies, upon which the various devices were engraved. The metal being previously prepared of the proper fineness and thickness, was cut into longitudinal slips, and a square piece being cut from the slip, it was afterwards rounded and adjusted to the weight of the coin to be made.

The blank pieces of metal were then placed between two dies, and the upper one struck with a hammer. After the Restoration another method was introduced at Gray's Close—that of the mill and screw, which, modified with many improvements, is still in use. At the Union, the ceremony of destroying the dies of the Scottish coinage took place in the Mint. After being heated red hot in a furnace, they were defaced by three impressions of a punch, "which were of course visible on the dies as long as they existed; but it must be recorded that all these implements, which would now have been great curiosities, are lost, and none of the machinery remains but the press, which, weighing about half a ton, was rather too large to be readily appropriated, otherwise it would have followed the rest."

The Scottish currency was, when abolished in 1707, of only one-twelfth the value sterling, and £100 Scots equalled £8 6s. 8d. sterling; or £1 Scots equalled 1s. 8d. sterling. The merk was 13s. 4d. Scots, and the plack, 2 bodles, equal to 4d. Scots.

The ancient key of the Mint is preserved, with some other relics of it, in the Scottish Antiquarian Museum.

The goldsmiths connected with the Mint appear to have had apartments either within the quadrangle or in its immediate neighbourhood, and there is no doubt that it was the professional avocations of the great George Heriot that led to his obtaining the large tenement that formed the north

side of the Mint court which, during his lifetime, he conceived to be the most central and suitable place for the erection of his future hospital, and which he describes in his will (see the Appendix to Stevens' biography) as "theis my tenements of landes, &c., lyand on the south side of the King his High Streit thairoff, betwixt the Cloise or Vena<sup>h</sup>, callit Gray's Clois, or Coyne-hous Cloise, at the east, the Wynd or Venall, callit Todrig's Wynd, at the west, and the said Coyne-hous Cloise at the south."

His tenements there were found to be ruinous, and every way unsuitable for the purpose for which they were designed by his executors, and the buildings which afterwards formed the north side of the quadrangle were those erected in the reign of Charles II. in 1674.

On the 22nd of February, 1656, during the Protectorate of Cromwell, a committee was appointed by the Commissioners of the shire of Edinburgh, for the equalisation of the assessment, "and for the more speedie effectuating thereof, the whole heritors, liferenters, woodsetters, and other persons whatsoever, liable in payment of cess," were ordered to appear before the said committee, at the Judge Advocate's lodging at foot of Gray's Close, on certain forenoons in March, according to a paper in the *Scottish Literary Magazine* for 1819.

The door to the floors above the coining-house in the Mint bore the letters "C. R. II., God save the King, 1674." Here was the lodging of Archibald ninth earl of Argyle, during his attendance on the Parliament, after Charles II. had most unexpectedly restored him to his father's title. Under date November 22nd, 1681, only a few days after the escape of the Earl from the Castle, disguised as his stepdaughter's page, Lord Fountainhall records that "Joseph Brown and James Clark, having poinded the Earl of Argyle's cabinet forth of the coin-house at Edinburgh, for a debt owing to them by the Earl's bond, the said cabinet having been rescued from them by violence, they gave in a complaint to the Privy Council of the riotous enforcement."

In defence it was alleged that the Mint was a sanctuary, and no poinding could be enforced there. It was answered that it was unknown whether it was by law or usurpation that the Mint was an asylum, and that it could protect only those in the service of the King; "but to extend this to extraneous persons running in there to avoid captions, much less to secure goods and plenishing, &c., is absurd. They fearing the want of this, alleged that the wright who made it (the cabinet) retained

it *jure tacite hypotheca* till he was paid the price of it."

The same house was, in the succeeding century, occupied by Dr. William Cullen, the eminent physician; while Lord Hailes lived in the more ancient lodging in the south portion of the Mint, prior to his removal to the modern house which he built for himself in New Street, Canongate.

William Cullen was born in Lanarkshire, in 1710, and after passing in medicine at Glasgow, made several voyages as surgeon of a merchantman between London and the Antilles; but tiring of the sea, he took a country practice at Hamilton, and his luckily curing the duke of that name of an illness, secured him a patronage for the future, and after various changes, in 1756, on the death of Dr. Plummer, he took the vacant chair of chemistry in the University of Edinburgh. On the death of Dr. Alston he succeeded him as lecturer in *materia medica*, and three years afterwards resigned the chair of chemistry to his own pupil, Dr. Black, on being appointed professor of the theory of medicine.

As a lecturer Dr. Cullen exercised a great influence over the state of opinion relative to the science of medicine, and successfully combated the specious doctrines of Boerhaave depending on the humoral pathology; his own system was founded on the enlarged view of the principles of Frederick Hoffman. The mere enumeration of his works on medicine would fill a page, but most of them were translated into nearly every European language. He continued his practice as a physician as well as his medical lectures till a few months before his death, when the infirmities of age induced him to resign his professorship, and one of many addresses he received on that occasion was the following:—

"On the 8th of January, 1790, the Lord Provost, magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh, voted a piece of plate of fifty guineas of value to Dr. Cullen, as a testimony of their respect for his distinguished merits and abilities and his eminent services to the university during the period of thirty-four years, in which he has held an academical chair. On the plate was engraved an inscription expressive of the high sense the magistrates, as patrons of the university, had of the merit of the Professor, and of their esteem and regard."

Most honourable to him also were the resolutions passed on the 27th of January by the entire *Senatus Academicus*; but he did not survive those honours long, as he died at his house in the Mint, on the 5th of February, 1790, in his eightieth year. By his wife—a Miss Johnston, who died there in 1786—he had a numerous family. One of his

sons, Robert, entered at the Scottish Bar in 1784, and distinguishing himself highly as a lawyer, was raised to the bench in 1796, as Lord Cullen. He cultivated elegant literature, and contributed several papers of acknowledged talent to the *Mirror* and *Leounger*; but it was chiefly in the art of conversation that he shone. When a young man, and resident with his father in the Mint Close, he was famous for his power of mimicry. He was very intimate with Dr. Robertson, the historian, then Principal of the university.

"To show that Robertson was not likely to be imitated it may be mentioned from the report of a gentleman who has often heard him making public orations, that when the students observed him pause for a word, and would themselves mentally supply it they invariably found that the word which he did use was different from that which they had hit upon. Cullen, however, could imitate him to the life, either in the more formal speeches, or in his ordinary discourse. He would often, in entering a house which the Principal was in the habit of visiting, assume his voice in the lobby and stair, and when arrived at the drawing-room door, astonish the family by turning out to be—Bob Cullen."

On the west side of the Mint were at one time the residences of Lord Belhaven, the Countess of Stair, Douglas of Cavers, and other distinguished tenants, including Andrew Pringle, raised to the bench, as Lord Haining, in 1729. The main entrance to these lodgings, like that on the south, was by a stately flight of steps and a great doorway, furnished with an enormous knocker, and a beautiful example of its ancient predecessor, the *risp*, or Scottish *tirling-pin*.

The *Edinburgh Courant* of August 12, 1708, has the following strange announcement:—

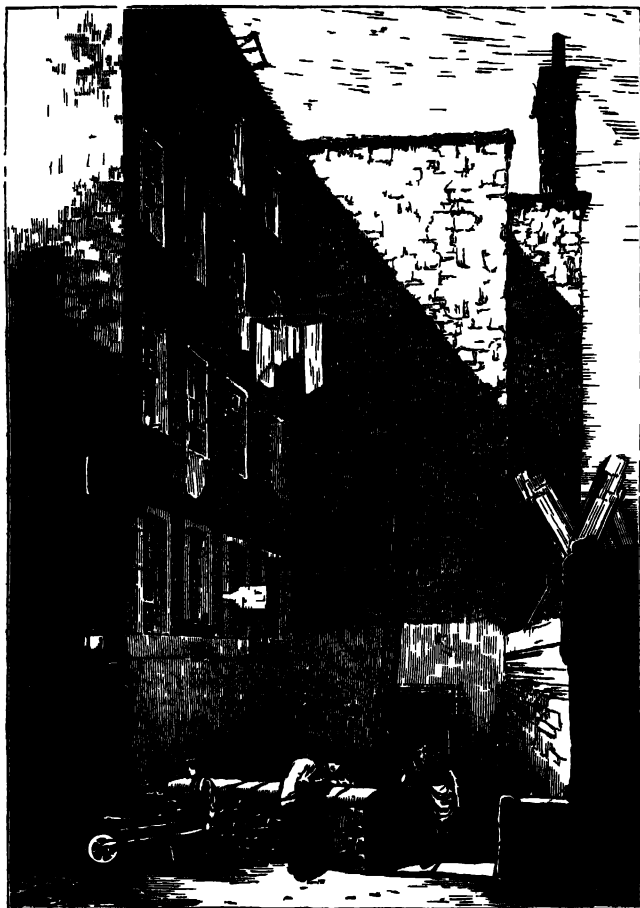
"George Williamson, translator (*i.e.* cobbler) in Edinburgh, commonly known by the name of *Bowed Geordie*, who swims on face, back, or any posture, forwards or backwards, and performs all the antics that any swimmer can do, is willing to attend any gentlemen and to teach them to swim, or perform his antics for their divertisement: is to be found at Luckie Reid's, at the foot of Gray's Close, on the south side of the street, Edinburgh."

Elphinstone's Court, in the close adjoining the Mint, was so named from Sir James Elphinstone, who built it in 1679, and from whom the lofty tenement therein passed to Sir Francis Scott of Thirlstane. The latter sold it to Patrick Wedderburn, who assumed the title of Lord Chesterhall on his elevation to the bench in 1755. His son, Alexander Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, first Earl of Rosslyn, and Lord High Chancellor of

England, resided here while practising at the Scottish Bar. He was born in East Lothian, in 1733, where his great grandfather, Sir Peter Wedderburn of Gosford, was a man of influence in the reign of Charles II, and rose to be an eminent

one of the judges, on which he threw off his gown, and declared that never again would he plead in a place where he was subjected to insult.

All unaware of the brilliant future that awaited him, with much regret he quitted the Scottish



ELPHINSTONE COURT

lawyer and judge. Admitted an advocate at the early age of nineteen, he obtained a full share of practice, and the rooms of his mansion in Elphinstone Court were frequently crowded by his clients, but having gained a cause in which the celebrated Lockhart (Lord Covington) was the opposing counsel, that eminent barrister, in bitter chagrin at his signal defeat, styled him "a presumptuous boy." Young Wedderburn's reply was so terribly sarcastic as to draw upon him a severe rebuke from

courts for ever, was called to the English bar in 1753, and soon gained fresh fame as counsel for the great Lord Clive, and in 1768-9 his eloquence in the famous Douglas cause won him the notice of Lord Camden and the friendship of the Earls of Bute and Mansfield. He sat in the Commons as member for the Inverary Burghs, and for Bishop's Castle, and in 1780 was raised to the British peerage as Lord Loughborough, in the county of Leicester. In April, 1783, he united with Lord

North in forming the celebrated Coalition Ministry, in which he held the appointment of first Commissioner for keeping the Great Seal. On its dissolution, he joined the Opposition under Fox, but, amid the alarm of the expected French invasion, he gave in his adhesion to the Administration of Pitt, and on succeeding Lord Thurlow as Lord High Chancellor, in April, 1801, was created Earl of Rosslyn in Midlothian, and then, when nearly

The memory of the early friendships he formed with the "select society" of Edinburgh, including David Hume, Robertson, Adam Smith, and Blair, he cherished with unceasing fondness. "His ambition was great," says Sir Egerton Bridges, "and his desire of office unlimited. He could argue with great ingenuity on either side, so that it was difficult to anticipate his future by his past opinions." He died of an apopleptic fit in 1805,



THE EARL OF SELKIRK'S HOUSE, HYNDFORD'S CLOSE (South view)

(From the Engraving in Sir Walter Scott's *Redgauntlet* by permission of Messrs. A. and C. Black)

worn-out with the fatigues of a long and active career, he retired from public life.

When visiting his native capital for the last time after an absence of nearly fifty years, with an emotion which did him honour, he caused himself to be carried in a sedan chair to Elphinstone Court, in that now obscure part of the city, that he might again see the house in which his father dwelt, and where his own early years as a boy and as a barrister had been spent. He expressed particular anxiety to know if a set of holes in the paved court before his father's door, which he had used for some youthful sport, were still in existence, and finding them still there intact, it is related that as all the past came upon him, the veteran statesman burst into tears.

and was interred in St Paul's Cathedral at London. Shortly after the death of his father, Lord Chesterhall, which occurred in 1756, he sold the old mansion in Elphinstone Court to John Campbell, a senator under the title of Lord Stonefield, who succeeded Lord Gardenstone as a justiciary judge, and who retained his seat upon the bench till his death in June, 1801. It is somewhat remarkable that his two immediate predecessors occupied the same seat for a period of ninety years, Lord Royston having been appointed a judge in 1710, and Lord Tinwald in 1744. By his wife, Lady Grace Stuart, daughter of John third Earl of Bute, he had several sons, all of whom pre-deceased him. The second of these was the

gallant Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell, of the Black Watch, whose memorable defence of Mangalore from May, 1783, to January, 1784, arrested the terrible career of Tippoo Sahib, and shed a glory over the British campaign in Mysore. The colonel died of exhaustion at Bombay soon after.

Upon leaving Elphinstone Court, his father resided latterly in George Square, where he died in June, 1801.

Midway up South Gray's Close, a tall turreted mansion, with a tolerably good garden long attached to it, and having an entrance from Hyndford's Close, was the town residence of the Earls of Selkirk—there, at least in 1742, resided Dunbar, fourth Earl (eldest son of Basil Hamilton, of Baldoon), who resumed the name of Douglas on his succeeding to the honours of Selkirk. He married a grand-daughter of Thomas, Earl of Haddington, and had ten children, one of whom, Lord Daer, on attaining manhood, became, at the commencement of the French Revolution, an adherent of that movement and a "Friend of the People;" and deeming the article of the Union with England, on which was founded the exclusion of the eldest sons of Scottish peers from representing their native country in Parliament, and from voting at elections there, injurious, insulting, and incorrectly interpreted, he determined to try the question; but decisions were given against him in the Court of Session and House of Lords. He pre-deceased his father, who died in 1799.

The next occupant of that old house was Dr. Daniel Rutherford, professor of botany, and said to be the first discoverer or inventor of gas. For his thesis, on taking his degree of M.D. at the University of Edinburgh in 1772, he chose a chemical subject, *De Aere Mephitico*, which, from the originality of its views, obtained the highest encomiums from Dr. Black. In this dissertation he demonstrated, though without explaining its properties, "the existence of a peculiar air, or new

gaseous fluid, to which some eminent modern philosophers have given the name of azote, and others of nitrogen."

That Dr. Rutherford first discovered this gas is now generally admitted; and, as Bower remarks in his "History of the University of Edinburgh," the reputation of his discovery being speedily spread through Europe, his character as a chemist of the first eminence was firmly established. He died suddenly on the 15th of December, 1819, in his seventy-first year, and it was somewhat remarkable that one of his sisters died two days after him, on the 17th, and another, the excellent mother of Sir Walter Scott, within seven days of the latter, viz., on the 24th of the same month, and that none of the three knew of the death of the other, so cumbrous were the postal arrangements of those days. "Sir Walter Scott, who," says Robert Chambers, "being a nephew of that gentleman, was often in the house in his young days, communicated to me a curious circumstance connected with it. It appears that the house immediately adjacent was not furnished with a stair wide enough to allow of a coffin being carried down in decent fashion. It had, therefore, what the Scottish law calls a *servitude* upon Dr. Rutherford's house, conferring the perpetual liberty of bringing the deceased inmates through a passage into that house, and down its stair into the lane," thus affording another curious example of how confined and narrow were the abodes of the ancient citizens. It was latterly the priest's house of St. Patrick's Roman Catholic church, and was beautifully restored by the late Dr. Marshall, but is now demolished.

In Edgar's map of Edinburgh in 1765 the whole space between the Earl of Selkirk's house on the west and St. Mary's Wynd on the east, and between the Marquis of Tweeddale's house on the north, nearly to the Cowgate Port on the south, is shown as a fine open space, pleasantly planted with rows of trees and shrubbery.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### ALLEYS OF THE HIGH STREET—(concluded).

The House of the Earls of Hyndford—The Three Rumps of Monreith—Anne, Countess of Balcarriis—South Foulis' Close—The "End-Ayle's Well"—Fountain Close—The House of Baillie Fullerton—Purchase of Property for the Royal College of Physicians—New Episcopal Chapel—Tweeddale Close—The House of the Marquis of Tweeddale—Rise of the British Linen Company—The Mysterious Murder of Eagle—The World's End Close—The Stanfield Tragedy—Titled Residents in Old Town Closes.

THE mansion of the Earls of Hyndford immediately adjoined that of the Earls of Selkirk, and the two edifices were thrown into one to form a Catholic chapel house, but the former gave its name to Hyndford's Close. "This was a Scottish peer-

age," says Robert Chambers, "not without its glories—witness particularly the third earl, who acted as ambassador in succession to Prussia, to Russia, and to Vienna. It is now extinct; its *bijouterie*, its pictures, including portraits of Maria

Theresa, and other royal and imperial personages, which had been presented as friendly memorials to the ambassador, have all been dispersed by the salesman's hammer, and Hyndford's Close, on my trying to get into it lately in 1868, was inaccessible (literally) from filth." Another writer, in 1856, says in his report to the magistrates, "that, with proper drainage, causeway, and cleanliness, it might be made quite respectable."

Prior to the Carmichaels of Hyndford it had been, for a time, the residence of the Earls of Stirling, the first of whom ruined himself in the colonisation of Nova Scotia, for which place he set sail with fourteen ships filled with emigrants and cattle in 1630. Here then, in this now humble but once most picturesque locality—for the house was singularly so, with its overhanging timber gables, its small court and garden sloping to the south—lived John third Earl of Hyndford, the living representative of a long line of warlike ancestors, including Sir John Carmichael of that ilk, who broke a spear with the Duke of Clarence at the battle of Bauge-en-Anjou, when the Scots routed the English, the Duke was slain, and Carmichael had added to his paternal arms a dexter hand and arm, holding a broken spear.

In 1732 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of a company in the Scots Foot Guards, and was twice Commissioner to the General Assembly before 1740, and was Lord of Police in Scotland. In the following year, when Frederick the Great invaded Silesia, he was sent as plenipotentiary extraordinary to adjust the differences that occasioned the war, and at the conclusion of the Treaty of Breslau had the Order of the Thistle conferred upon him by George II., receiving at the same time a grant from Frederick, dated at Berlin, 30th September, 1742, for adding the eagle of Silesia to his paternal arms of Hyndford, with the motto *Ex bene merito*. He was six years an ambassador at the Russian Court, and it was by his able negotiations that 30,000 Muscovite troops contributed to accelerate the peace which was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle.

These stirring events over, the year 1752 saw him leave his old abode in that narrow close off the High Street, to undertake a mission of the greatest importance to the Court of Vienna. On the death of Andrew Earl of Hyndford and Viscount Inglisberry, in 1817, the title became extinct, but is claimed by a baronet of the name of Carmichael.

The entry and stair on the west side of Hyndford's Close was always a favourite residence, in consequence of the ready access to it from the High Street.

In the beginning of the reign of George III. here lived Lady Maxwell of Monreith, ~~the~~ Magdalene Blair of that ilk, and there she educated and reared her three beautiful daughters—Catharine, Jane, and Eglantine (or Eglintoun, so named after the stately Countess Susanna who lived in the Old Stamp Office Close), the first of whom became the wife of Fordyce of Aytoune, the second in 1767, Duchess of Gordon, and the third, Lady Wallace of Craigie.

Their house had a dark passage, and in going to the dining-room the kitchen door was passed, according to an architectural custom, common in old Scottish and French houses; and such was the thrift and so cramped the accommodation in those times, that in this passage the laces and fineries of the three young beauties were hung to dry, while coarser garments were displayed from a window pole, in the fashion common to this day in the same localities for the convenience of the poor. "So easy and familiar were the manners of the great, fabled to be so stiff and decorous," says the author of "Traditions of Edinburgh," who must vouch for the story, "that Miss Eglantine, afterwards Lady Wallace, used to be sent across the street to the Fountain Well for water to make tea. Lady Maxwell's daughters were the wildest romps imaginable. An old gentleman who was their relation, told me that the first time he saw these beautiful girls was in the High Street, where Miss Jane, afterwards Duchess of Gordon, was riding upon a sow, which Miss Eglantine thumped lustily behind with a stick. It must be understood that in the middle of the eighteenth century vagrant swine went as commonly about the streets of Edinburgh as dogs do in our own day, and were more generally followed as pets by the children of the last generation. It may, however, be remarked, that the sows upon which the Duchess of Gordon and her witty sister rode when children, were not the common vagrants of the High Street, but belonged to Peter Ramsay, of the inn in St. Mary's Wynd, and were among the last that were permitted to roam abroad. The romps used to watch the animals as they were let loose in the forenoon in the stable yard (where they lived among the horse litter) and got upon their backs the moment they issued from the close."

Their eldest brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Maxwell, of the 74th Highlanders, commanded the grenadier companies of the army under Cornwallis in the war against Tippoo, and died in India in 1800.

In the same stair with Lady Maxwell lived Anne Dalrymple, Countess of James fifth Earl of Bal-

carres, who died in 1768, a lady who is said to have been the progenitrix of as many persons as ever any woman was in the same space of time, for Sir Bernard Burke records her as having eight children and fifteen grandchildren. Her eldest daughter, Anne—and of all her family almost the only one remembered now—was the authoress of the sweet ballad of *Auld Robin Gray*, written to the ancient Scottish air called "The bridegroom greets when the sun gaes doon." She was born on the 8th of December, 1750, and was married to Sir Andrew Barnard, Colonial Secretary at the Cape of Good Hope, and she died at Berkeley Square, London, in 1825, after surviving her husband eighteen years. The whole history of the ballad, and her authorship thereof, are too well known to require repetition here, but the first verse, as she wrote it, is invariably omitted now—

"When the sheep are in  
the fold, and the kye  
a' at hame,  
When a' the weary world  
to sleep are gane,  
The wae o' my heart fa'  
in sorrowful my ee'  
While my guidman lies  
sound by me."

Dr. Daniel Rutherford was, of course, a close neighbour of the Countess of Balcarres, and from Lord Lindesay's "Lives of the Lindesays" we learn that his nephew, Walter Scott, when a boy, occasionally accompanied his aunt on visits to the Countess of Balcarres, and some forty years after, when having occasion to correspond with Lady Anne, he wrote "I remember the *locale* of Hyndford's Close perfectly, even to the Indian screen with harlequin and columbine, and the harpichord, though I never had the pleasure of hearing Lady Anne play upon it. I suppose the close, once too clean to soil the hem of your ladyship's garment, is now a resort for the lowest mechanics—and so wears the world away. . . . It is, to be sure, more picturesque to lament the desolation

of towers on hills and haughs than the degradation of an Edinburgh close, but I cannot help thinking on the simple and cosie retreats where worth and talent, and elegance to boot, were often nestled, and which now are the resort of misery, filth, poverty, and vice."

The little tea-parties of Lady Balcarres, who was a daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple of Castleton, were always famous for the strong infusion of Jacobite spirit that pervaded them, attainted peers and

baronets being always spoken of, or announced, with their old Scottish rank and titles in defiance of all acts of attainder, though she lived to see the ninth year of the reign of George III.

The next alley, called South Foulis' Close, is named Fowler's in Edgar's map of the city, and some portion of this alley must have escaped the conflagration of 1544, as Wilson refers to a large mansion "that bears the date 1539 over its main doorway, with two coats of arms impaled on one large shield in the centre, but all now greatly defaced. Another nearly opposite to it exhibits an old oak door, ornamented with fine carving, still in tolerable preservation, although

the whole place has been (1847) converted into store rooms and cellars." As in many other instances, not even a tradition or a memory of the names even of the great or noble who dwelt here has come down to us.

The close numbered as 90 in Edgar's old map is called the Fountain, it is supposed from the circumstance of its entrance being opposite the stone conduit in the recess near John Knox's house. A fountain named "the Endmylie's Well," frequently occurs in old historical works connected with the city, or offices therein, but whether it is the same cannot be determined now. William Powrie, one of Bothwell's accomplices in the murder of Darnley,



THE EARL OF SELKIRK'S HOUSE, HYNDFORD'S CLOSE (West view)

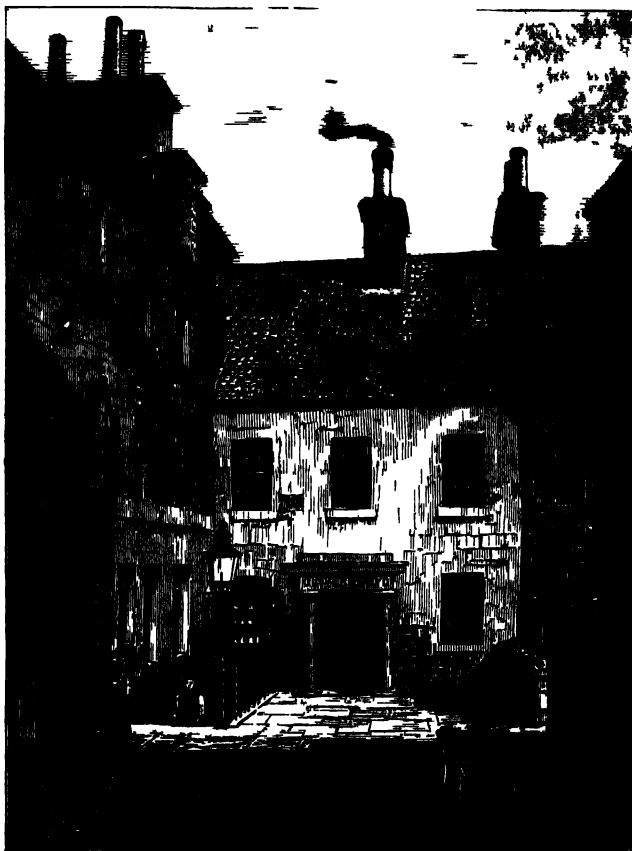
(From an Engraving in Sir Walter Scott's "Redoubtlet"  
by permission of Messrs. A. and C. Black)

says, after they heard the explosion at the Kirk-of-field, "thai past away togidder out at the Frier Yet, and sundert when thai came to the Cowgate, part up the Blackfriar Wynd and part up the cloiss which is *under* the Endmylie's Well"

On the east side of the Close, and opposite to the house of Bassandyne the printer, one with a

hideous in the eyes of the reformers, "playing a Robin Hood," as we have related in our account of the Tolbooth, and would have hanged him therefor, had not the armed trades made themselves fairly masters of the city

In January, 1571, he sat as Commissioner for the City in the General Assembly which met at



TWEEDDALE HOUSE

highly ornamented double doorway, was the mansion of Adam Fullerton, a man of great note in his time, and an active coadjutor of the early reformers

The northern door lintel had the legend—

*Via*

*Vera*

*CU ONLY BE CRYST—ADAM FULLERTON. Tas.*

and the southern—

ARIS O LORD—MAIRIE ROGER 1573

He was one of the Bailies of Edinburgh in 1561, who, with the Provost, committed to ward the craftsman who had been guilty of that enormity so

Leith, and in the summer of the same year he was made captain of two hundred armed citizens, who formed themselves into a band or company, and joined the forces of the Regent in that seaport, for which he was denounced as a traitor to his Queen, and by an act of the Estates, sitting in the Tolbooth, and presided over on the 18th of August by the Duke of Chatelherault, many rebels to the Queen, "formost among whom is Adam Fullerton," were declared to have forfeited their lives, lands, goods, and coats of arms. His house in the Fountain



Close was seized, and a battery erected on the summit thereof to assail the King's men. In the "Historie of James Sext" we are told that the Regent Earl of Mar brought nine pieces of ordnance up the Canongate to assail the Netherbow Port, but changed their position "to a fauxbourg of the town, callit Pleasands," from whence to batter the Flodden wall and to oppose a platform of guns erected on the house of Adam Fullerton.

When this sharp but brief civil disorder ended, Adam returned to his strong mansion in the Fountain Close once more, and on the 4th of December, 1572, he and Mr. John Paterson appear together as Commissaries for the city of Edinburgh, and the supposition is, that the date, 1573, referred to repairs upon the house, after what it had suffered from the cannon of Mar. Thus, says Wilson, "the *vincit veritas* of the brave old burgher acquires a new force, when we consider the circumstances that dictated its inscription, and the desperate struggle in which he had borne a leading part, before he returned to carve these pious aphorisms over the threshold that had so recently been held by his enemies."

With a view to enlarging the library of the College of Physicians, in 1704, that body purchased from Sir James Mackenzie his house and ground at the foot of the Fountain Close. The price paid was 3,500 merks (£194 8s. 10d.). To this, in seven years afterwards, was added an adjoining property, which connected it with the Cowgate, "then a genteel and busy thoroughfare," and for which 2,300 merks (£127 15s. 6d.) were given. From Edgar's map it appears that the premises thus acquired by the College of Physicians were more extensive than those occupied by any individual or any other public body in the city. The ground was laid out in gardens and shrubbery, and was an object of great admiration and envy to the nobility and gentry, to several of whom the privilege of using the pleasure grounds was accorded as a favour. Considering the locality now, how strangely does all this read!

The whole of the buildings must have been in a dilapidated, if not ruinous state, for expensive repairs were found to be necessary on first taking possession, and the same head of expenditure constantly recurs in accounts of the treasurer of the College; and so early as 1711 a design was proposed for the erection of a new hall at the foot of the Fountain Close; and after nine years' delay, 2,900 merks were borrowed, and a new building erected, but it was sold in 1720 for £800, as a site for the new Episcopal Chapel.

Till the erection of St. Paul's in York Place, the Fountain Close formed the only direct communication to this the largest and most fashionable Episcopal church in Edinburgh, that which was built near the Cowgate Port in 1771.

Tweeddale's Close, the next alley on the east, was the scene of a terrible crime, the memory of which, though enacted so long ago as 1806, is still fresh in the city. The stately house which gave its name to the Close, and was the town residence of the Marquises of Tweeddale, still remains, though the "plantation of lime-trees behind it," mentioned by Defoe in his "Tour," and shown in seven great rows on Edgar's map, is a thing of the past.

Even after the general desertion of Edinburgh by the Scottish noblesse at the Union, this fine old mansion (which, notwithstanding great changes, still retains traces of magnificence) was for a time the constant residence of the Tweeddale family. It was first built and occupied by Dame Margaret Kerr Lady Yester, daughter of Mark first Earl of Lothian. She was born in 1572, and was wife of James the seventh Lord Yester, in whose family there occurred a singular event. His page, Hepburn, accused his Master of the Horse of a design to poison him; the latter denied it; the affair was brought before the Council, who agreed that it should be determined by single combat, in 1595, and this is supposed to have been the last of such judicial trials by battle in Scotland.

By Lady Yester, who founded the church that still bears her name in the city, the mansion, with all its furniture, was bestowed upon her grandson, John second Earl of Tweeddale (and ninth Lord Yester), who joined Charles I. when he unfurled his standard at Nottingham in 1642. Six years subsequently, when a Scottish army under the Duke of Hamilton, was raised, to rescue Charles from the English, the Earl, then Lord Yester, commanded the East Lothian regiment of 1,200 men. After the execution of Charles I. he continued with the regal party in Scotland, assisted at the coronation of Charles II., and against Cromwell he defended his castle of Neidpath longer than any place south of the Forth, except Borthwick. With all this loyalty to his native princes, he came early into the Revolution movement, and in 1692 was created, by William III., Marquis of Tweeddale, with the office of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and died five years afterwards.

The next occupant of the house, John, second Marquis, received £1,000 for his vote at the Union, and was one of the first set of sixteen representative peers. The last of the family who

resided here was John, fourth Marquis, who was Secretary of State for Scotland from 1742 till 1745, when he resigned the office, on which the Government at once availed themselves of the opportunity for leaving it vacant, as it has remained ever since. He died in 1762, and soon after the carriage-entrance and the fine old terraced garden of the house, which lay on the slope westward, were removed to make way for the Episcopal church in the Cowgate—doomed in turn to be forsaken by its founders, and even by their successors.

From the Tweeddale family the mansion passed into the hands of the British Linen Company, and became their banking house, until they deserted it for Moray House in the Canongate, from which they ultimately migrated to a statelier edifice in St. Andrew Square. This company was originally incorporated by a charter under the Privy Seal granted by George II. on the 6th of July, 1746, at a time when the mind of the Scottish people was still agitated by the events of the preceding year and the result of the battle of Culloden; and it was deemed an object of the first importance to tranquillise the country and call forth its resources, so that the attention of the nation should be directed to the advantages of trade and manufacture. With this view the Government, as well as many gentlemen of rank and fortune, exerted themselves to promote the linen manufacture, which had been lately introduced, deeming that it would in time become the staple manufacture of Scotland, and provide ample employment for her people, while extensive markets for the produce of their labour would be found alike at home and in the colonies, then chiefly supplied by the linens of Germany.

By the Dukes of Queensberry and Argyle, who became the first governors of the British Linen Company, representations to this effect were made to Government, and by the Earls of Glencairn, Eglington, Galloway, Panmure, and many other peers, together with the Lord Justice Clerk Fletcher of Saltoun, afterwards Lord Milton, who was the first deputy governor, and whose mother, when an exile in Holland during the troubles, had secretly obtained a knowledge of the art of weaving and of dressing the fine linen known as "Holland," and introduced its manufacture at the village of Saltoun; by the Lord Justice Clerk Alva; Provost George Drummond; John Coutts, founder of the famous banking houses of Forbes and Co., and Coutts and Co. in the Strand; by Henry Home, Lord Kames; and many others, all of whom urged the establishment of the company, under royal sanction, and offered to become subscribers to the under-

A charter was obtained in accordance with their views and wishes, establishing the British Linen Company as a corporation, and bestowing upon it ample privileges, not only to manufacture and deal in linen fabrics, but also to do all that might conduce to the promotion thereof; and authority was given to raise a capital of £100,000, to be enlarged by future warrants under the sign manual of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, to such sums as the affairs of the company might require. After this the company engaged to a considerable extent in the importation of flax and the manufacture of yarns and linens, having warehouses both in Edinburgh and London, and in its affairs none took a more active part than Lord Milton, who was an enthusiast in all that related to the improvement of trade, agriculture, and learning, in his native country; but it soon became apparent that the company "would be of more utility, and better promote the objects of their institution, by enlarging the issue of their notes to traders, than being traders and manufacturers themselves."

By degrees, therefore, the company withdrew from all manufacturing operations and speculations, and finally closed them in 1763, from which year to the present time their business has been confined to the discount of bills, advances on accounts, and other bank transactions, in support of Scottish trade generally, at home and abroad. "By the extension of their branch agencies to a great number of towns," to quote their own historical report, "and the employment in discounts and cash advances of their own funds, as well as of that portion of the formerly scanty and inactive money capital of Scotland which has been lodged with the company, they have been the means of contributing very materially to the encouragement of useful industry throughout Scotland, and to her rapid progress in agricultural and mechanical improvements, and in commercial intercourse with foreign countries. As regards the particular object of the institution of the company—the encouragement of the linen manufacture—considerably more than half of the flax and hemp imported into the United Kingdom, is now (in 1878) brought to the Scottish ports."

Now the bank has nearly eighty branch or sub-branch offices over all Scotland alone. The company's original capital of £100,000 has been gradually increased under three additional charters, granted at different times, under the Great Seal. By Queen Victoria, their fourth charter, dated 19th March, 1849, ratifies and confirms all their privileges and rights, and power was given to augment their capital to any sum not exceeding £1,500,000 in all, for banking purposes. The amount of new

capital already created under the last charter is £500,000 stock, making the existing capital £1,000,000, and there still remains unexhausted the privilege to create £500,000 more stock whenever it shall appear to be expedient to complete the capital to the full amount conceded in the charter—a success that the early projectors of the first scheme, developed in Tweeddale's Close, could little have anticipated.

The British Linen Company for a long series of years has enjoyed the full corporate and other privileges of the old chartered banks of Scotland; and in this capacity, along with the Bank of Scotland and the Royal Bank of Scotland, alone is specially exempted in the Bank Regulation Act for Scotland, from making returns of the proprietors' names to the Stamp Office.

In the sixth year of the 19th century Tweeddale House became the scene of a dark event "which ranks among the gossips of the Scottish capital with the Icon Basilikè, or the Man with the Iron Mask."

About five in the evening of the 13th of November, 1806, or an hour after sunset, a little girl whose family lived in the close, was sent by her mother with a kettle to get water for tea from the Fountain Well, and stumbling in the dark archway over something, found it to be, to her dismay, the body of a man just expiring. On an alarm being raised, the victim proved to be William Begbie, the messenger of the British Linen Company Bank, a resident in the town of Leith, where that bank was the first to establish a branch, in a house close to the upper drawbridge. On lights being brought, a knife was found in his heart, thrust up to the hilt, so he bled to death without the power of uttering a word of explanation. Though a sentinel of the Guard was always on duty close by, yet he saw nothing of the event.

It was found that he had been robbed of a package of notes, amounting in value to more than four thousand pounds, which he had been conveying from the Leith branch to the head office. The murder had been accomplished with the utmost deliberation, and the arrangements connected with it displayed care and calculation. The weapon used had a broad thin blade, carefully pointed, with soft paper wrapped round the hand in such a manner as to prevent any blood from reaching the person of the assassin, and thus leading to his detection.

For his discovery five hundred guineas were offered in vain; in vain, too, was the city searched, while the roads were patrolled; and all the evidence attainable amounted to this:—"That Begbie, in

proceeding up Leith Walk, had been accompanied by a 'man,' and that about the supposed time of the murder 'a man' had been seen by some children to run out of the close into the street, and down Leith Wynd. . . . There was also reason to believe that the knife had been bought in a shop about two o'clock on the day of the murder, and that it had been afterwards ground upon a grinding-stone and smoothed upon a hone."

Many persons were arrested on suspicion, and one, a desperate character, was long detained in custody, but months passed on, and the assassination was ceasing to occupy public attention, when three men, in passing through the grounds of Bellevue (where now Drummond Place stands) in August, 1807, found in the cavity of an old wall, a roll of bank notes that seemed to have borne exposure to the weather. The roll was conveyed to Sheriff Clerk Rattray's office, and found to contain £3,000 in large notes of the money taken from Begbie. The three men received £200 from the British Linen Company as the reward of their honesty, but no further light was thrown upon the murder, the actual perpetrator of which has never, to this hour, been discovered, though strong suspicions fell on a prisoner named Mackoull in 1822, after he was beyond the reach of the law.

This man was tried and sentenced to death by the High Court of Justiciary in June, 1820, for robbery at the Paisley Union Bank, Glasgow, and was placed in the Calton gaol, where he was respited in August, and again in September, "during his majesty's pleasure" (according to the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*), and where he died about the end of the year. In a work published under the title of "The Life and Death of James Mackoull," there was included a document by Mr. Denovan, the Bow Street Runner, whose object was to prove that Mackoull *alias* Moffat, was the assassin of Begbie, and his statements, which are curious, have thus been condensed by a local writer in 1865:—

"Still, in the absence of legal proof, there is a mystery about this daring crime which lends a sort of romance to its daring perpetrator. Mr. Denovan discovered a man in Leith acting as a teacher, who in 1806 was a sailor-boy belonging to a ship then in the harbour. On the afternoon of the murder he was carrying up some smuggled article to a friend in Edinburgh, when he noticed 'a tall man carrying a yellow coloured parcel under his arm, and a genteel man, dressed in a black coat, dogging him.' He at once concluded, that the man with the parcel was a smuggler, and the other a custom-house officer. Fearful of detection himself, he watched their manœuvres with considerable interest. He lost

sight of the parties for a short time, but when he came opposite to Tweeddale's Close, he saw the (presumed) Custom House officer running out of it, with something under his coat. There can be no doubt that this was the murderer, and the description given coincided exactly with the appearance of Mackoull. Although the boy heard of the murder before he left Leith, he never thought of communicating what he had seen to the authorities; he was shortly after captured and carried to a French prison, where he remained for many years. Mackoull resided in Edinburgh from September, 1805, till the end of 1806, lodging very near the scene of the murder, and was a frequent visitor at the coffee-room of the Ship Tavern in Leith.\*

Shortly before his death, when abruptly questioned by Denovan as to where he resided in November, 1806, Mackoull was seized with convulsions, and threw himself back on his bed and began to rave.

Tweeddale House, after being quitted by the British Linen Company for their new office in St. Andrew Square, became, and is still, the establishment of Messrs. Oliver and Boyd, the well-known printers and publishers.

The World's End Close was the curious and appropriate name bestowed upon the last gloomy, and mysterious-looking alley on the south side of the High Street, adjacent to the Netherbow Port, when it lost its older name of Sir John Stanfield's Close.

At the foot of it an ancient tenement has a shield of arms on its lintel, with the common Edinburgh legend—"Praisze. the. Lord. for. all. His. gifts, M.S.;" but save this, and a rich Gothic niche, built into a modern "land" of uninteresting aspect, nothing remains of Stanfield's Close save the memory of the dark tragedy connected with the name of the knight.

Sir James Stanfield was one of those English manufacturers who, by permission of the Scottish Government, had settled at Newmills, in East Lothian. He was a respectable man, but the profligacy of Philip, his eldest son, so greatly afflicted him that he became melancholy, and he disinherited his heir by a will. On a day in the November of 1687 he was found drowned, it was alleged, in a pool of water near his country house at Newmills. Doubts were started as to whether he had committed suicide, in consequence of domestic troubles, or had been murdered. The circumstances of his being hastily interred, and that Lady Stanfield had a suit of grave-clothes all ready for him before his death, seemed to point to the latter; and two surgeons

were sent from Edinburgh to examine the body and report upon it.

It was raised from the grave, after it had lain there two days, and the surgeons having made an incision near the neck, became convinced that death had been caused by strangulation, so all supposition of suicide was abandoned. This examination took place in a church. After the cut had been sewn up, the body was washed, wrapped in fresh linen, and James Row, merchant in Edinburgh, and Philip Stanfield, the disinherited son, lifted it for deposition in the coffin, when lo! on the side sustained by Philip an effusion of blood took place, and so ample as to defile both his hands.

"Lord, have mercy on me!" he exclaimed, and let the body fall. He then rushed horror-stricken into the preacher's desk, where he lay for some time groaning in great anguish, and refusing to touch the corpse again, while all looked on with dismay. The incident was at once accepted by the then Scottish mind in the light of a revelation of Philip's guilt as his father's murderer. "In a secret murder," says King James in his 'Dæmology'—"if the dead carcase be at any time thereafter handled by the murderer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to heaven for revenge of the murderer."

Accordingly, on the 7th of February, 1688, Philip was brought to trial at Edinburgh, and after the household servants had been put to torture without eliciting anything on the strength of the mysterious bleeding, according to Fountainhall, save that he was known to have cursed his father, drunk to the king's confusion, and linked the royal name with those of the Pope, the devil, and Lord Chancellor, he was sentenced to death. He protested his innocence to the last, and urged in vain that his father was a melancholy man, subject to fits; that once he set out for England, but because his horse stopped at a certain place, he thought he saw the finger of God, and returned home; and that he once tried to throw himself over a window at the Nether Bow, probably at his house in the World's End Close.

Philip Stanfield was hanged at the Market Cross on the 24th of February. In consequence of a slip of the rope, he came down on his knees, and it was necessary to use more horrible means of strangulation. His tongue was cut out for cursing his father; his right hand was struck off for parricide; his head was spiked on the East Port of Haddington, and his mutilated body was hung in chains between Leith and the city. After a few days the body was stolen from the gibbet, and found lying in a ditch among water. It was chained up again,

\* "Traditions and Antiquities of Leith."

but was a second time stolen ; and in the strangulation on the scaffold, and the being found in a ditch among water, the superstitious saw retributive justice for the murder of which he was assumed to be guilty. "It will be acknowledged," says the author of the "*Domestic Annals*," "that in the circumstances related there is not a particle of valid evidence against the young man. The surgeons' opinion as to the fact of strangulation is not entitled to much regard ; but, granting its solidity, it does not prove the guilt of the accused. The horror of the young man on seeing his father's blood might be referred to painful recollections of that profligate conduct which he knew had distressed his parent, and brought his grey hairs with sorrow to the grave—especially when we reflect that Stanfield would himself be impressed with the superstitious feelings of the age, and might accept the hæmorrhage as an accusation by heaven on account of the concern his conduct had in shortening the life of his father. The whole case seems to be a lively illustration of the effect of superstitious feelings in blinding justice."

We have thus traced the history of the High Street and its closes down once more to the Nether Bow.

In the World's End Close Lady Lawrence was a residenter in 1761, and Lady Huntingdon in 1784, and for some years after the creation of the New Town, people of position continued to linger in the Old Town and in the Canongate. And from Peter Williamson's curious little "*Directory*" for 1784, we can glean a few names, thus :—

Lady Mary Carnegie, in Bailie Fyfe's Close ; Lady Colstoun and the Hon. Alexander Gordon, on the Castle Hill ; General Douglas, in Baron Maule's Close ; Lady Jean Gordon, in the Hammerman's Close ; Sir James Wemyss, in Riddle's Close ; Sir John Whiteford of that ilk, in the Anchor Close ; Sir James Campbell, in the Old Bank Close ; Erskine of Cardross, in the Horse Wynd ; Lady Home, in Lady Stair's Close.

In Monteith's Close, in 1794, we find in the "*Scottish Hist. Register*" for 1795 recorded the death of Mr. John Douglas, Albany herald, uncle of Sir Andrew Snape Douglas, who was captain of the *Queen Charlotte*, of 110 guns, and who fought her so valiantly in Lord Bridport's battle on "the glorious 23rd of June, 1795." The house occupied by Lady Rothiemay in Turk's Close, below Liberton's Wynd, was advertised for sale in the *Courant* of 1761 ; and there lived, till his death in 1797, James Nelson, collector of the Ministers' Widows' Fund.

In Morrison's Close in 1783, we find one of the most fashionable *modistes* of Edinburgh announcing in the *Advertiser* of that year, that she is from "one of the most eminent houses in London," and that her work is finished in the newest fashions :—"Chemize de Lorraine, Grecian Robes, Habit Bell, Robe de Cour, and Levites, different kinds, all in the most genteel and approved manner, and on the most reasonable terms."

In the same year, the signboard of James and Francis Jeffrey, father and uncle of Lord Jeffrey, still hung in the Lawnmarket.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### NEW STREETS WITHIN THE AREA OF THE FLODDEN WALL.

Lord Cockburn Street—Lord Cockburn—The *Scotsman* Newspaper—Charles Maclaren and Alexander Russell—The Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Brigade—St. Giles Street—Sketch of the Rise of Journalism in Edinburgh—The *Edinburgh Courant*—The *Daily Review*—Jeffrey Street—New Trinity College Church.

THE principal thoroughfare, which of late years has been run through the dense masses of the ancient alleys we have been describing, is Lord Cockburn Street, which was formed in 1859, and strikes northward from the north-west corner of Hunter's Square, to connect the centre of the old city with the railway terminus at Waverley Bridge ; it goes curving down a comparatively steep series of slopes, and is mainly edified in the Scottish baronial style, with many ornate gables, dormer windows, and conical turrets, high over all of which towers the dark and mighty mass of the Royal Exchange.

This new street exposes a romantic section of the

lofty tenements in many of the closes that descend from the north side of the High Street, and was very properly named after Lord Cockburn, one entitled to special remembrance on many accounts, and for the deep interest he took in all matters connected with his birthplace. When he died, in April, 1854, he was one of the best and kindest of the old school of "Parliament House Whigs," and was a thorough, honest, shrewd, and benevolent Scottish gentleman, who, though he did not participate to any extent in the literary labours of his contemporaries, has left behind him an interesting volume of "*Memorials*." Many can yet recall his

plain, old-fashioned, yet gentlemanly bearing, his quiet gait, and shrewd features, when the clear bright glance was never dimmed, though the shaggy eyebrow grew anowier; while in conversation he furnished almost the last remnant of idiomatic Scottish phrase and accent in its old courtly gentility.

The most important edifice on the south side of Cockburn Street is unquestionably, for many reasons, the office of the *Scotsman* newspaper, No. 30—the leading journal in Scotland, and of which it may be truly said that there is no newspaper out of London, and only one or two in it, which has an influence so widely felt.

About 1860 the offices of the *Scotsman* were removed from the High Street, where they had long been situated, to the new buildings in Cockburn Street, where no expense had been spared to make the establishment complete in all its appointments, and the perfection of what a newspaper office should be. The heading of the newspaper is carved in stone along the front of the edifice.

The front block contains five floors. On the street floor are the advertisement and publishing offices, where advertisements and orders are taken in and answers to numbered advertisements received. This department is managed by an ample staff of female clerks. The manager's room and counting-house are on the first floor above. The paper usually contains not less than from 800 to 4,000 advertisements daily, and in receiving and entering these a large staff of clerks is engaged. The editorial departments are on the next floor above, and consist of a fine suite of ten rooms, opening off a spacious corridor, and all are fitted with speaking-tubes and bells, communicating with every department of the establishment. In each room there is also a "copy" shoot of ingenious construction, which enables the printer's imp to be dispensed with. "Copy" is simply dropped into it, and, by pulling a cord, is drawn instantly to the composing-room.

One of the rooms is set apart as a telegraph office, the establishment being in direct communication with London by means of two of its own wires. The composing-room, 150 feet long by 30 in breadth, is well-lighted and ventilated. Three rooms for "readers" are screened off at one end, and at the other are the lavatory, cloak, and smoking-rooms, for the use of the workmen, about a hundred of whom are employed in the typographical department alone. There is also a stereotype foundry; and a library, composed of several thousand volumes, free to all employed upon the premises.

Two spacious apartments that measure together

80 feet in length by 40 in breadth, and with ceilings 25 feet in height, are the machine rooms. In these are three Walter and two other fast web presses, that print and fold from the web at the rate of 60,000 copies of a large eight-page sheet per hour. As a provision against accidents, there are two sets of engines and boilers. There is also a small printing machine for printing the bill of contents. Over the machine room is the despatching room, the general fittings of which seem a compound between a post-office and a railway ticket office.

Several rooms, in addition to these mentioned are connected with the machine department, and on the east side of the Anchor Close is an extensive ink and paper store.

"In all the great towns in England correspondents are engaged," says David Bremner, in his "Industries of Scotland;" "and in London there is a staff of reporters and a sub-editor. Even in New York the paper is represented, and special telegrams from that city have appeared on several occasions. The arrangements with the telegraph companies for the supply of foreign news are most complete. With this vast organisation for collecting news at command, the *Scotsman* daily presents not only a complete record of current events in Scotland, but each copy may be said to be an epitome of the world's history for a day." A special express engine, hired by the proprietors at a cost of £1,000 a year, conveys the *Scotsman* parcels for Glasgow and the West of Scotland.

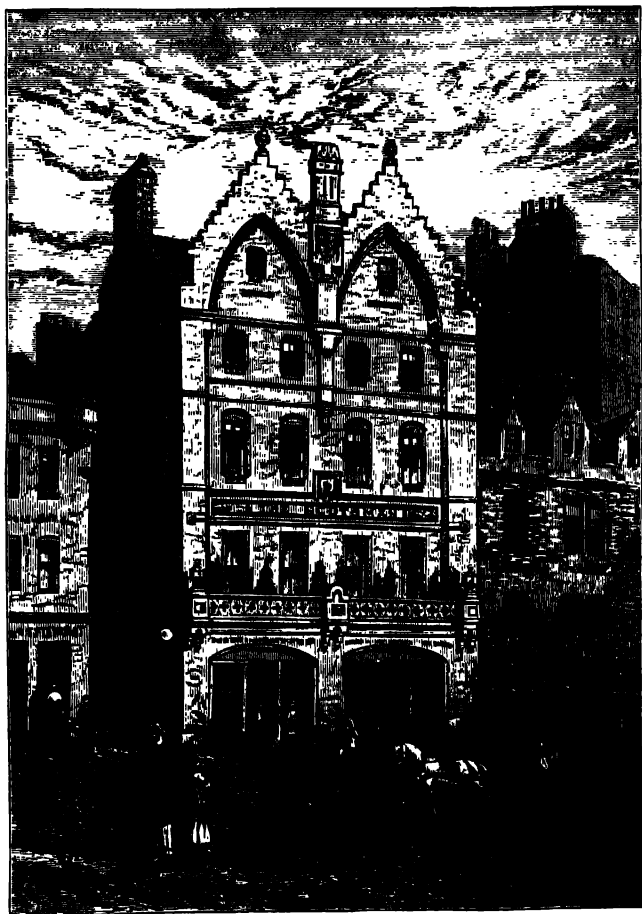
At this time, including all departments, about 230 persons are employed on the premises; and if to these be added paid contributors and others, the number of persons receiving remuneration for their services will be swelled to fully 500, who obtain among them £35,000 a year. Of the daily issue of the paper 350,000 copies are printed every week, and of the weekly issue 60,000 copies, which give a circulation of 410,000 a week, or 21,320,000 a year. The annual production would, if spread out, cover about twelve square miles of ground, and if the sheets were placed end to end they would form a ribbon about 19,000 miles long and 4 feet broad.

According to a privately-printed memoir of Mr. Charles Maclaren, who for thirty years (1817-47) was editor of the *Scotsman*, it was in the year 1816 that the idea of starting an independent newspaper in Edinburgh originated. The political influences which overspread Scotland after the close of the long war had permeated society, and the ruling powers carried their repressive effects into every sphere of action. Hence the local press was very abject, without courage enough to expose any

abuse, however flagrant, if in doing so there was any risk of giving offence in high quarters ; and the time had come when a free organ was necessary for Scotland. It was calculated that if only 300 subscribers were obtained the project would have a chance of success, and Mr. Maclaren, with Mr.

house, it was deemed unwise that he should be known as the editor of an Opposition journal.

At this time the paper consisted of eight pages, less than half the size of the present page, and the price was 10d.—6d. for the paper and 4d. of stamp duty. From the latest news columns of the number



THE "SCOTSMAN" OFFICE.

William Ritchie, were to be joint editors. The leading article of the first number appeared on the 25th of January, 1817, and was from the pen of Charles Maclaren, who, during Mr. Ritchie's absence on the continent, found a valuable coadjutor in Mr. John Ramsay McCulloch, afterwards the eminent statist and economist, who temporarily assumed the office of responsible editor of the infant journal. Mr. Maclaren having become a clerk in the Custom-

for 25th of January, some idea, says Mr. Bremner, of the time occupied in the transmission of intelligence in 1817 may be gleaned ; the latest from London was the 22nd ; from Paris, January 15th ; and from New York, December 15th.

The first advertisements were wholly of a literary nature. In 1823 the paper was published twice weekly at 7d., and when the stamp duty was abolished the daily *Scotsman* appeared in 1855—a

tiny sheet at first. "To the daily and bi-weekly editions, a weekly publication, composed of selections from the others, was added in 1860, representing also the venerable *Caledonian Mercury*. A few years ago the bi-weekly paper was merged into the daily edition, which most of the subscribers had come to prefer. In all its various forms the *Scotsman* has enjoyed a most gratifying run of prosperity."

By 1820 the paper having become firmly established, Mr. Maclaren resumed the editorship, and very few persons now can have an idea of the magnitude of the task he had to undertake. "Corruption and arrogance," says the memoir already quoted, "were the characteristics of the party in power—in power in a sense of which in these days we know nothing. The people of Scotland were absolutely without voice either in vote or speech. Parliamentary elections, municipal government, the management of public bodies—everything was in the hands of a few hundred persons. In Edinburgh, for instance, the member of Parliament was elected and the government of the city carried on by thirty-two persons, and almost all these thirty-two took their directions from the Government of the day, or its proconsul. Public meetings were almost unknown, and a free press may be said to have never had an existence. Lord Cockburn, in his 'Life of Jeffrey,' says:—'I doubt if there was a public meeting held in Edinburgh between the year 1795 and the year 1820,' and adds, in 1852, that 'excepting some vulgar, stupid, and rash' newspapers which lasted only a few days, there was 'no respectable opposition paper, till the appearance of the *Scotsman*, which for thirty-five years has done so much for the popular cause, not merely by talent, spirit, and consistency, but by independent moderation.'"

Its tone from the first had been that of a decided Whig, and in church matters that of a "voluntary." Apart from his ceaseless editorial labours, Mr. Maclaren enriched the literature of his country by many literary and scientific works, the enumeration of which is somewhat unnecessary here; but one

of the proudest proofs of his mechanical sagacity is his having clearly foreseen and boldly proclaimed the certain success of locomotion by railways, while as yet the whole subject was in embryo or deemed a wild delusion. A series of his articles on this matter appeared in the *Scotsman* for December, 1824, and were translated into nearly every European language; and Smiles, in his life of Stephenson, emphatically acknowledges Maclaren's keen foresight in the subject. His great conversational and social qualities lie apart from the history of his journal, which he continued to edit till compelled by ill-health to resign in 1847. He died in 1866, after having lived in comparative retirement at his suburban villa in the Grange Loan, in his eighty-fourth year, having been born in 1782, at Ormiston, in West Lothian.

In the management of the paper he was ably succeeded by Alexander Russel, a native of Edinburgh, who, after editing one or two provincial journals, became connected with the *Scotsman* in 1845, as assistant editor. He was a Whig of the old Fox school, and contributed many brilliant articles to the *Edinburgh* and *Quarterly Reviews*, the "Encyclopedia Britannica," and also *Blackwood's Magazine*.

As editor of the *Scotsman* he soon attracted the attention of Mr. Cobden and other leaders of the Anti-corn-law agitation, and his pen was actively employed in furtherance of the objects of the League; and among the first subjects to which he turned his attention in the *Scotsman* was the painful question of Highland destitution in 1847. A notable local conflict in which the paper took a special interest was that of 1856, on the final retirement of Macaulay from the representation of Edinburgh, and the return of Adam Black, the eminent publisher; and among many matters to which this great Scottish journal lent all its weight and advocacy in subsequent years, was the great centenary of Robert Burns.

To the change in the Stamp Act we have already referred—a change which, by the introduction of daily papers, entailed an enormous increase of work upon the editors; but we are told that "Mr.



ALEXANDER RUSSEL.  
(From a Photograph by J. Moffat, Edinburgh.)



Russel never failed to meet the requirements of the day ; and for three or four months scarcely a day passed on which he did not write one or more articles—seventy leading articles having been written by him, we believe, day after day.” In testimony of his literary ability and public services a magnificent presentation of silver plate was made to him in 1859, at the Waterloo Rooms.

The *Scotsman*, which has always opposed and exposed Pharisaism and inconsistency, yet the while giving ample place to the ecclesiastical element—a feature in Scottish everyday life quite incomprehensible to strangers—was in the full zenith and plenitude of its power when Alexander Russel died, in about the thirtieth year of his editorship and sixty-second of his age, leaving a blank in his own circle that may never be supplied, for he was the worthy successor of Maclaren in the task of making the *Scotsman* what it is—the sole representative of Scottish opinion in England and abroad ; “and that it represents it so that that opinion does not need to hang its head in the area of cosmopolitan discussion, is largely due to the independence of spirit, the tact, the discernment of character, and the unflagging energy by which Mr. Russel imparted a dignity to the work of editing a newspaper which it can hardly be said to have possessed in his own country before his time.” He was succeeded in the editorial chair by the Rev. Dr. Robert Wallace, who was at the time Professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh and minister of Old Greyfriars, and whose caustic pen had long been familiar to the readers of the *Scotsman*. On his assumption of journalistic responsibilities, Dr. Wallace severed his connection with the Church, and devoted himself, with conspicuous zeal, to the discharge of his new duties. He resigned office in 1880, and was succeeded by Mr. Charles Cooper, who had acted as assistant editor since 1868 ; under his able guidance the *Scotsman* has maintained its high reputation amongst the newspapers of Great Britain and Ireland.

In picturesque Cockburn Street, under the very shadow of the old city, will be found the Ear and Eye Dispensary, instituted in 1822, and the rooms of the Choral Society. Prior to their removal to Forrest Road, the Orderly Rooms of the Queen's Edinburgh Rifle Volunteer Brigade were located in this street ; and here, too, were the headquarters of the Edinburgh Volunteer Artillery.\*

Formed in two battalions, the Queen's Edinburgh

Rifle Brigade, of which the Lord Provost is honorary colonel, consists now of 25 companies, seven of which were called Highland. Since its embodiment in 1859 there have enrolled in this corps 15,036 men, of whom 12,688 have resigned, leaving the strength in May, 1885, at 2,348.

As a shooting corps, and for the excellence of its drill, it has always borne a high character, and its artisan battalion is “second to none” among the auxiliary forces. Members of the corps have often distinguished themselves at Wimbledon, and the Queen's Prize itself has fallen to one of its crack shots. In the many Volunteer Reviews which have been held in the Queen's Park—and some of the most important and imposing of such demonstrations have taken place there—the Edinburgh men have always borne a conspicuous part.

Under the new system the brigade forms a portion of the 1st Regimental District, which includes the two battalions of the 1st Royal Scots Regiment, the Edinburgh or Queen's Regiment of Light Infantry Militia, and the Administrative Volunteer Rifle Battalions of Berwick, Haddington, Linlithgow, 1st Midlothian, and 2nd Midlothian, and Peebles-shire.

In St. Giles Street, which opens on the north side of the High Street (opposite to the square in which the County Hall stands) and turning west joins the head of the mound, at the foot of Bank Street, are the offices of the *Daily* and *Weekly Review*. The *Glasgow Herald* and the *Evening Times* share a handsome edifice, built like the rest of the street, in the picturesque old Scottish style, with crowstepped gables and pedimented dormer windows, and having inscribed along its front in large letters :

THE COURANT, ESTAB. 1705.

To this office, which was specially designed for the purpose by the late David Bryce, R.S.A., the headquarters of the paper were removed from 188, High Street ; and in noticing this venerable organ of the Conservative party, it is impossible to omit some reference to the rise of journalism in Edinburgh, where it has survived its old contemporaries, as the *Caledonian Mercury*, a continued serial from 1720, is now incorporated with the *Scotsman*, and the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, which started in January, 1764, ceased about 1860 ; hence the oldest existing paper in the city is the *Edinburgh Gazette*, which appeared in 1699, the successor to a short-lived paper of the same name, started in 1680.

The newspaper press of Scotland began during the civil wars of the 17th century. A party of Cromwell's troops which garrisoned the citadel of Leith in 1652, brought with them a printer named Christopher Higgins, to reprint the London paper

\* In addition to this corps, there are the Midlothian Coast Volunteer Artillery, whose headquarters are at Edinburgh.

called the *Mercurius Politicus*, consisting of from eight to sixteen pages, which he began to issue from his establishment "in Hart's Close, over against the Tron Church." The first number appeared on the 26th of October, 1653, and the serial continued till 1660. On the 31st December in that year appeared the "*Mercurius Caledonius*, comprising the affairs now in agitation in Scotland, with a survey of foreign intelligence." It is in eight pages post 8vo, and contains a description of the funeral of Montrose, the departure of the English garrison from the Castle, with the announcement that "the blasphemous Rumper and other anti-monarchical vermin in England must cast about somewhere else than for companions in Scotland." It lived only three months, and was succeeded by *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*—to prevent false news—published by authority. James Watson, a printer of eminence, started the *Edinburgh Courant* in 1705, which only attained its fifty-fifth number, and in 1706 the *Scots Courant*. The whole of the local notices in the first-named paper are most meagre, and are as follows:—

EDINBURGH, FEB. 19.

On Saturday last, Captain Green, Captain of the Ship Worcester, and the rest of his Crew who are Prisoners here, and are to be try'd as Pyrats, before the Judge-Admiral, has each of them got a Copy of their Inditement to answer against the 5th. of March next; and the Lords of Her Majesty's Privy-Council, has appointed five of their number to be assessors to the Judge-Admiral.

This day Robert Pringle one of the Tellers of the Bank, who lately went off with about 425 lib. sterling of the Bank's Money, is to be Try'd for Life before the Lords of Justiciary, upon a Lybel rais'd at the instance of the Treasurer of the Bank, and the said Pringle's Cautioners, with concurrence of Her Majesty's Advocate.

Leith, Feb. 16. This day came in to our Port the Mary Galley, David Preshu, Commander, laden with Wine and Brandy.

### Advertisements.

*That the Lands of Pirnatoun, lying within the Regality of Stow, and Sheriffdom of Midlothian, are to be exposed to a voluntary Roup and Sale, in the House of James Gibson, Writer, living in the Advocats Close, opposite to the Old-Kirk-Style, on Thursday the 12th. day of April next 1705, betwixt the hours of 2 and 5 in the Afternoon: whoever has a mind to bid for the same, may see an exact and compleat Progress of the Writs of the said Lands, in the hands of William Wilson, one of the Under Clerks to the Session.*

*That there are Post-Offices settled at Wigtoun and New-Galloway: Therefore all Letters and Packages must be given in at Wigtoun every Wednesday Morning, and at New-Galloway every Wednesday Night, and at Edinburgh every Saturday; the same to Commence March 1st. 1705.*

*That the Famous Lomenges for curing the Cold, stopping the Kinibost, and pains in the Breast; are to be sold by George Anderson at the foot of the Fish Mercat, and at George Moubray's Shop, opposite to the Main-Guard. Price 8sh. the box.*

*The Author heresf having upon the 13. instant, got an Act of Her Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, to Print and Publish the Foreign and Home News thrise Weekly, viz., Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; the same will be continued from this day forward.*

NOTA, Advertisements may be put in this Courant, and for that end, attendance will be given from ten o'clock in the Forenoon till twelve, and from two in the Afternoon till four, at the Exchange Coffee-House in Edinburgh.

In 1718 the Town Council gave a privilege to Mr. James MacEwan to print the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* thrice weekly, on condition that before publication he should give "ane coppie of his print to the magistrates." This is stated in the number of the paper for February 18, 1850.

In its early days it was intended to be a decidedly Whig print, in violent opposition to the *Caledonian Mercury*, which, for long after the battle of Culloden, was an organ of the Jacobites, in whose interest it was started.

From the first day of its issue the *Courant* proved successful. "As to our newspaper," says the Rev. Robert Wodrow, writing from Edinburgh on the 17th of January, 1719, when it was about a year old, "it thrives so far as to be very well liked by all, excepting the violent Jacobites, who hate it for no other reason but because it is a true and impartial paper. Several gentlemen who have had the London papers sent them have laid them aside, because this contains the substance not only of them, but of the foreign post also."

Like other papers of its time, the columns of the *Courant*, in its earlier stage, display a dire dearth of home intelligence, "whole months often elapsing without so much as one obituary notice, or a ship's arrival at Leith. The reason of this unfortunate peculiarity was no other than the civic censorship under which the paper, as we see, was from the beginning placed. Even intelligence in the interest of the Government was not in every instance safe."

All the copies of a certain number issued in the February of 1723 were seized by the magistrates, in consequence of their containing a very little paragraph regarding a Mr. Patrick Holden, then under probation before the Lords of Session, as presentee of the Crown for a seat on the bench—he being a mere creature of the ministry, and unfitted for the office of senator, to which eventually he does not seem to have attained. Indignant at the remark, "we do not hear of any great dis-

coveries yet made to his prejudice," the judges inflicted punishment upon MacEwan, who was compelled in his next issue to apologise to his country subscribers, and explain why they were not served "with that day's *Courant*, as also why we have been so sparing all along of home news."

Presbyterian churches. It was founded by the late Mr. David Guthrie to advance the views and interests of the Nonconformist Evangelical Church in Scotland, while at the same time taking its fair share in the general news of the country. Under the editorship of Mr. James Bolivar Manson, who was



INTERIOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, JERVIS STREET.

In course of time the politics of the *Courant* gradually changed, and it is still a flourishing paper as the organ of the Conservatives and of the landed interest in Scotland.

The *Daily Review*, which came into existence in April, 1861, has always been a high-class and well-conducted paper of Liberal principles, and a leading organ on ecclesiastical matters among the greater body of Scottish Dissenters—the Free and United

esteemed as one of the greatest journalists in Scotland, it gained a high reputation for art criticism, and an increased circulation. Mr. Manson had an earnest susceptibility for art, and everything he wrote on that subject proceeded from genuine and native interest on the subject, and expressed convictions which he cherished deeply. The quarterlies, too, occasionally contained articles from his facile pen, and not unfrequently has *Punch* been

the vehicle for the dissemination of the rich vein of humour which ran through his character.

His qualities as a writer in a daily journal were amply displayed during the six years he edited the *Daily Review*, and a melancholy interest attaches to his connection with that journal, as he literally "died in harness." His great reading gave him

genuine mind and culture, was ever and anon made evident, sometimes with curious solicitude." When death came upon Mr. Manson he was only in his forty-ninth year, and had not been confined by illness to the house for a single day. After breakfast, he had seated himself in his study to write a leader welcoming John Bright to Edinburgh; and the few



TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH (RESTORED).

extensive resources, while his long study of public matters and knowledge of past political transactions were remarkable, or equalled only in the parallel instance of Alexander Russel, of the *Scotsman*. His tastes were various; for in classic authors and in the Scottish vernacular he was equally at home. "He could scourge pretenders, but he loved to welcome every genuine accession to our literary treasures, and to give a fresh and advantageous setting to any gems that might be found in the volume with which he had to deal. Indeed, amid the rough strokes of political war, his regard for any opponent whom he believed to be a man of

lines he wrote were penned, as usual, without a single elision, when Mrs. Manson entering the room about twelve o'clock, saw him lying back in his chair, as she supposed asleep—but it was the sleep of death. This was on the 2nd of November, 1868.

Mr. Manson, who was long regretted by men of many professions over the length and breadth of the kingdom, and by friends who mourned him as a genial acquaintance, was succeeded by the late Henry Kingsley, who occupied the editorial chair for eighteen months, and who was succeeded in turn by Dr. George Smith, formerly

of *The Friend of India*, and author of the "Life of Dr. Wilson of Bombay." The paper has ever been an advanced Liberal one in politics, and considerably ahead of the old Whig school.

Jeffrey Street, so named from the famous literary critic, is one of those thoroughfares formed under the City Improvement Act of 1867. It commences at the head of Leith Wynd, and occasioned there the demolition of many buildings of remote antiquity. From thence it curves north-westward, behind the Ashley Buildings, and is carried on a viaduct of ten massive arches. Proceeding westward through Milne's Court, and cutting off the lower end of many quaint, ancient, narrow, and it must be admitted latterly somewhat inodorous alleys, it goes into line with an old edified thoroughfare at the back of the Flesh Market, under the southern arch of the open part of the North Bridge, and is built chiefly in the old Scottish domestic style of architecture, so suited to its peculiar locality.

In this street stands the Trinity College Established Church, re-erected from the stones of the original church, to which we shall refer elsewhere.

When the North British Railway Company required its site, it was felt by all interested in archæology and art that the destruction of an edifice so important and unique would be a serious loss to the city, and, inspired by this sentiment, the most strenuous efforts were made by the Lord Provost, Adam Black, and others, to make some kind of restoration of the church of Mary of Gueldres a condition of the company obtaining possession; and their efforts were believed to have been successful when a clause was inserted in the Company's Act binding them, before acquiring Trinity College church, to erect another, after the same style and model, on a site to be approved by the sheriff, in or near the parish and about a dozen of these were suggested, among others the rocky knoll adjoining the Calton stairs.

The company finding the delay imposed by this clause extremely prejudicial to their interests, sought to have it amended, and succeeded in having "the obligation to erect such a church raised from them, on the payment of such a sum as should be found on inquiry, under the authority of the sheriff, to be sufficient for the site and restoration. About £18,000 was accordingly paid to the Town Council in 1848; the church was removed, and its stones carefully numbered, and set aside."

Questions of site, of the sitters, and the sum to be actually expended, were long discussed by the Council and in the press—some members of the former, with a sentiment of injustice, wishing to

abolish the congregation altogether, and give the money to the city. After much litigation, extending ultimately over a period of nearly thirty years, the Court of Session in full bench decided that all the money and the interest accruing therefrom should be expended on the church.

This judgment was reversed, on appeal, by Lord Chancellor Westbury, who decided that only £7,000 "without interest should be given to buy a site and build a church contiguous to Trinity Hospital, in which the rest of the money should vest." The Town Council of those days seemed ever intent on crushing this individual parish church, and, as one of the congregation wrote in an address in January, 1873, "to these it seemed as strange as sad, that while all over this island, corporations and individuals were spending very large sums in the restoration or preservation of the best specimens of the art and devotion of their forefathers, a city so beholden as Edinburgh to the beautiful and picturesque in situation and buildings, should not only permit the disappearance of an edifice of which almost any other city would have been proud, but when the means and the obligation to preserve it had been secured, with much labour by others, should, with almost as much pains, seek to render nugatory alike the efforts of these and the certain pious regrets of posterity." In 1871 the churchless parish, in respect of population, held the fourth place in old Edinburgh (2,882) exceeding the Tolbooth, Tron, and other congregations.

The church, rebuilt from the stones of the ancient edifice of 1462, stands on the south side of Jeffrey Street, at the corner of Chalmers' Close. It was erected in 1871-2, from drawings prepared by Mr. Lessels, architect, and is an oblong structure, with details in the Norman Gothic style, with a tower and spire 115 feet in height. It is almost entirely constructed from the "carefully numbered stones" of the ancient church, nearly every pillar, niche, capital, and arch, being in its old place, and, taken in this sense, the edifice is a very unique one.

Opened for divine service in October, 1877, it is seated for 900, and has the ancient baptismal font that stood in the vestry of the church of Mary of Gueldres placed in the lobby. The old apse has been restored *in toto*, and forms the most interesting portion of the new building. The ancient baptismal and communion plate of the church are very valuable, and the latter is depicted in Sir George Harvey's well-known picture of the "Covenanter's Baptism," and, like the communion-table, date from shortly after the Reformation, and have been the gifts of various pious individuals.

## CHAPTER XXXV.

SOME OF THE NEW STREETS WITHIN THE AREA OF THE FLODDEN WALL (*concluded*).

Victoria Street and Terrace—The India Buildings—Mechanics' Subscription Library—George IV Bridge—St. Augustine's Church—Martyrs' Church—Chamber of the Highland and Agricultural Society—Sheriff Court Buildings and Solicitors' Hall—Johnstone Terrace St. John's Free Church—The Church of Scotland Training College.

VICTORIA STREET, which opens from the west side of George IV. Bridge, and was formed as the result of the same improvement scheme by which that stately bridge itself was erected, from the north end of the Highland and Agricultural Society's Chambers curves downward to the north-east corner of the Grassmarket, embracing in that curve the last remains of the ancient West Bow. Some portions of its architecture are remarkably ornate, especially the upper portion of its south side, where stands the massive pile, covered in many parts with rich carving, named the India Buildings, in the old Scottish baronial style, of unique construction, consisting of numerous offices, entered from a series of circular galleries, and erected in 1867-8, containing the Scottish Chamber of Agriculture, which was instituted in November, 1864. Its objects are to watch over the interests of practical agriculture, to promote the advancement of that science by the discussion of all subjects relating to it, and to consider questions that may be introduced into Parliament-connected with it. The business of the Chamber is managed by a president, vice-president, and twenty directors, twelve of whom are tenant farmers. It holds fixed meetings at Perth in autumn, and at Edinburgh in November, annually; and all meetings are open to the press.

In the centre of the southern part of the street is St. John's Established church, built in 1838, in a mixed style of architecture, with a Saxon doorway.

It is faced on the north side by a handsome terrace, portions of which rise from an open arcade, and include a Primitive Methodist church, or Ebenezer chapel, and an Original Secession church. Victoria Terrace is crossed at its western end by a flight of steps, which seem to continue the old line of access afforded by the Upper West Bow.

No. 5 Victoria Terrace gives access to one of the most valuable institutions in the city—the Edinburgh Mechanics' Subscription Library. It was established in 1825, when its first president was Mr. Robert Hay, a printer, and Mr. John Dunn, afterwards a well-known optician, was vice-president, and it has now had a prosperous career of more than half a century.

The library is divided into thirteen sections:—1, Arts and Sciences; 2, Geography and Statistics; 3, History; 4, Voyages, Travels, and Personal Adventures; 5, Biography; 6, Theology; 7, Law; 8, Essays; 9, Poetry and the Drama; 10, Novels and Romances; 11, Miscellaneous; 12, Pamphlets; 13, Periodicals. Each of these sections has a particular classification, and they are all constantly receiving additions, so as to carry out the original object of the institution—"To procure an extensive collection of books on the general literature of the country, including the most popular works on science."

Thus every department of British literature is amply represented on its shelves, and at a charge so moderate as to be within the reach of all classes of the community: the entry-money being only 2s. 6d., and the quarterly payments 1s. 6d.

The management of this library has always been vested in its own members, and few societies adhere so rigidly to their original design as the Mechanics' Library has done. It has, from the first, adapted itself to the pecuniary circumstances of the working man, and from the commencement it has been a self-supporting institution; though in its infancy its prosperity was greatly accelerated, as its records attest, by liberal donations of works in almost every class of literature. Among the earliest contributors in this generous spirit, besides many of its own members, were Sir James Hall, Bart., of Dunglas, so eminent for his attainments in geological and chemical science; his son, Captain Basil Hall, R.N., the well-known author; Mr. Leonard Horner; and the leading publishers of the day—Messrs. Archibald Constable, William Blackwood, Adam Black, Waugh and Innes, with John Murray of London. Some of them were munificent in their gifts, "besides granting credit to any amount required—an accommodation of vital service to an infant institution."

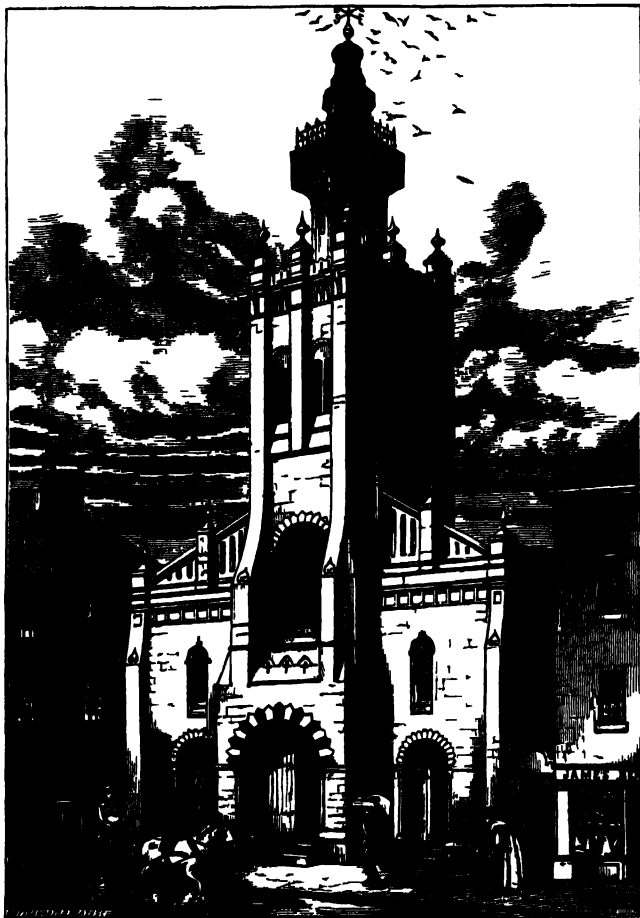
The property of the library is vested in trustees, who consist of two individuals chosen by vote every fifth year, in addition to "the Convener of the Trades of the City of Edinburgh, the principal librarian to the Faculty of Advocates, and the principal librarian to the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, for the time being."

The right of reading descends to the heirs

of subscribers, and is transferable under certain rules.

Judging from the large number of books lent during the year, the interest in this Institution is not only real, but steadily maintained. The ordinary

In recording the destruction of Mauchine's Close, Liberton's Wynd, and other old alleys, we referred to the erection of Melbourne Place. Here George IV. Bridge goes southward at right angles from the Lawnmarket, and stretches across the



ST. AUGUSTINE'S CHURCH.

members on the roll number more than 600, an average that seldom varies. Though the chief entrance is from Victoria Terrace, the library is the proprietor of the whole property in Riddell's Close behind, from the basement to the attics. The first, or principal floor, is occupied by the library (and the rest is let to tenants) and is in the house of Bailie Macmorran, who, as we have related, was shot by William Sinclair, a High School boy, in the reign of James VI.

Cowgate, opposite Bank Street, to a point near the south end of the Candlemaker Row.

The foundation-stone of this magnificent bridge, which was projected in 1825, was laid on the 15th of August, 1827; but after being begun, and for some time left in an unfinished state, through a failure of funds, it was finally completed in 1836. It occasioned the demolition of many picturesque specimens of the city's ancient edifices, but forms a spacious thoroughfare three hundred yards in



VICTORIA STREET AND TERRACE FROM GEORGE IV BRIDGE



length, including the splendid groined open arches over the Cowgate, and seven others which are concealed. It is now edified with houses on both sides, and presents the aspect of a stately street; but, where open, commands from its lofty parapets a clear and striking view of the narrow Cowgate far down below, together with the new western approach round the south-west face of the Castle rock, which joins Johnstone Terrace. It cost about £400,000.

On the east side of it stands the St. Augustine's Independent (or Congregational) church, built in 1857, after designs by Hay, a Scottish architect settled in Liverpool. It cost £14,000, and rises from a deep and massive basement in the old sunk transverse thoroughfare of Merchant Street. The main building is after the Byzantine style, with a handsome tower and steeple above a hundred feet in height; and is somewhat of an innovation even on the new architecture of the city.

The Martyrs', or Reformed Presbyterian, church stands on the west side of George IV. Bridge, and nearly opposite St. Augustine's church. This congregation was established in Lady Lawson's Wynd in 1834. In No. 17, on the same side, a little farther north, are the chambers of the Protestant Institute, and of the Scottish Reformation Society, erected about 1860, springing partly from previously organised efforts against the increase of Catholicism in Britain, and partly from the tricentenary celebration of the Reformation in Scotland. The former contains a hall for courses of lectures to students on subjects specially connected with Roman controversy. But the two most important buildings on this new bridge are the Sheriff Court Buildings on the east side, and those of the Highland and Agricultural Society on the west.

Of the several patriotic institutions formed for the improvement of the country generally, and of the Highlands in particular, this has been the most useful, powerful, and extensive in its operations. It has steadily directed its great energies to the promotion of the immediate and most tangible interests of the Highlands, and to the introduction, extension, and adaptation of whatever promises most efficiently to work out their temporal prosperity. A noble institution, it embodies the genuine patriotism with the patronage and skill of most of the nobility, landed gentry, and gentlemen farmers throughout Scotland, and not a few of the men most distinguished in science and learning.

Previous to its promotion there existed in Edinburgh two similar associations. The first was named "The Honourable the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture," and is believed

to have been the earliest in Britain, being founded in 1723. It ended with the battle of Culloden. The second was formed in 1755, and existed for ten years, under the auspices of the "Select Society."

"The Highland Society of Scotland," says Henry Mackenzie, one of the directors, in his introduction to the first volume of its "Transactions," "derives its origin from a number of gentlemen, natives of, or connected with the Highlands, assembled in Edinburgh in 1784. 'That meeting 'conceiving (as the words of their own resolution express) that the institution of a Highland Society at Edinburgh would be attended with many good consequences to the country, as well as to individuals,' determined to take the sense of their countrymen on the propriety of such an institution. A numerous meeting of such gentlemen as residence in or near Edinburgh allowed of being called together was assembled. They warmly approved of the measure, agreed to become members of such a Society, proceeded to the nomination of a president, vice-president, and committee, and having thus far embodied themselves, wrote circulars to such noblemen and gentlemen as birth, property, or connection, qualified, and, as they supposed, might incline to join the formation of such an establishment, inviting them to become members of the proposed society."

Though thus instituted in 1784, it was not incorporated by royal charter till 1787. Candidates for admission must be proposed by a member, and are elected at the general meetings which take place in January and June or July. They pay in advance £1 3s. 6d. per annum, or a life subscription of twelve guineas, except tenant-farmers, who are admissible on an annual payment of 10s., or life subscription of £5 5s. The members of the original Society were about 100; in 1787, 150; in 1797, 400. Since its institution 11,000 members have been elected, and now the present number enrolled at the office in George IV. Bridge is considerably over 5,000.

There is a powerful staff of office-bearers, and fifteen committees, whose cares embrace—1, Argyll Naval Fund; 2, Botanical Department; 3, Chemical Department; 4, Cottages and Gardens; 5, Dairy Department; 6, District Shows; 7, Finance; 8, General Shows; 9, Hall and Chambers; 10, Highland Industries and Fisheries; 11, Law; 12, Machinery; 13, Ordnance Survey; 14, Publications; 15, Veterinary Department.

By a charter under the Great Seal in 1856 the Society is empowered to grant diplomas and certificates in agriculture, and has regular boards of

highly qualified examiners, on every point of which it takes cognisance. It grants annually ten bursaries of £20 each, and five of £10 each, to be competed for by pupils of schools approved of by the directors.

The Society's vested capital now amounts to £70,000, and its annual revenue exceeds more than £5,000, besides the receipts for general shows. The Argyll Fund, for the education of young Highland gentlemen for the navy, now exceeds £6,000, and was instituted by John fifth Duke of Argyll, the original president of the Society.

From its chambers, No. 3, George IV. Bridge, surveying a width of range and multiplicity of objects worthy of its wealth and intellect, its opulence of power and resource, the Society promotes the erection of towns and bridges, the formation of roads, the experiments and enterprises of agriculture, the improvement of farm stock, the sheltering processes of planting, the extension of fisheries, the introduction of manufactures, the adaptation of machinery to all useful arts, the ready co-operation of local influence with legislative and public measures, the diffusion of practical knowledge of all that may tend to the general good of the Scottish nation, and the consolidation of the Highlanders and Lowlanders into one great fraternal community.

"The Society awards large and numerous premiums to stimulate desiderated enterprises, and in 1828 began the publication of the *Quarterly Journal of Agriculture*, for prize essays and the dissemination of the newest practical information; it patronises great annual cattle shows successively in different towns, and by means of them excites and directs a stirring and creditable spirit of emulation among graziers, and, in general, it keeps in play upon the community, a variety of influences which, as far as regards mere earthly well-being, have singularly transformed and beautified its character."

Its arms are a figure of Caledonia on a pedestal, between two youths—one a Highland reaper, the other a ploughboy—being crowned. The motto is, *Semper armis nunc et industria*. The Highland Society's hall and chamber form a very symmetrical and also ornamental edifice, with a beautiful sculpture of its coat of arms from the chisel of A. H. Ritchie. It formerly contained a most interesting agricultural museum, which has been removed elsewhere. Similar societies on the same model have since been established—by England in 1838, and by Ireland in 1841.

The other edifice referred to, the Sheriff's Court Buildings, contiguous to the open arches over the Cowgate, was erected in 1865-8, from designs by David Bryce, at a cost of more than £44,000.

It rises from a low basement, with an extensive and imposing flank to the south, and presents in its façade an ornate variety of the Italian style of architecture; but within exhibits simply the usual features of legal courts, with three subordinate official chambers, unless we except the Society hall of the solicitors-at-law, a minor legal body in Edinburgh, which was incorporated by royal charter in 1780, and only certain members of which are qualified to act as agents before the Supreme Courts.

Johnstone Terrace, King's Road, and Castle Terrace crossing the King's Bridge, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1827, unitedly extend about 900 yards along the southern limb, or southwestern skirt of the Castle Rock, connecting the head of the Lawnmarket with the Lothian Road, at a point about 180 yards south of the west end of Princes Street. These were formed between 1825 and 1836, to afford improved access to the Old Town from the westward. They are collectively called the New Western Approach, and apart from being a very questionable improvement as regards artistic taste, have destroyed the amenity of the Castle Rock, and lessened its strength as a fortress.

In Johnstone Terrace, to which we shall confine ourselves for the present, at the eastern end, resting at the corner of the Old West Bow, is St. John's Free Church, a handsome edifice in a mixed style of early Gothic. It was built from designs furnished by Robert Hamilton in 1847, and is chiefly famous for its congregation having enjoyed for some years the ministry of the celebrated Dr. Guthrie, and of Dr. William Hanna, a graduate of the University of Glasgow, who was ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in 1835, and who is so well known as the author of "Wycliffe and the Huguenots," and as the affectionate biographer of Chalmers.

Westward of this edifice is St. Columba's Episcopal church, also a Gothic structure, but of an earlier style, with a low, square battlemented tower, built in 1845.

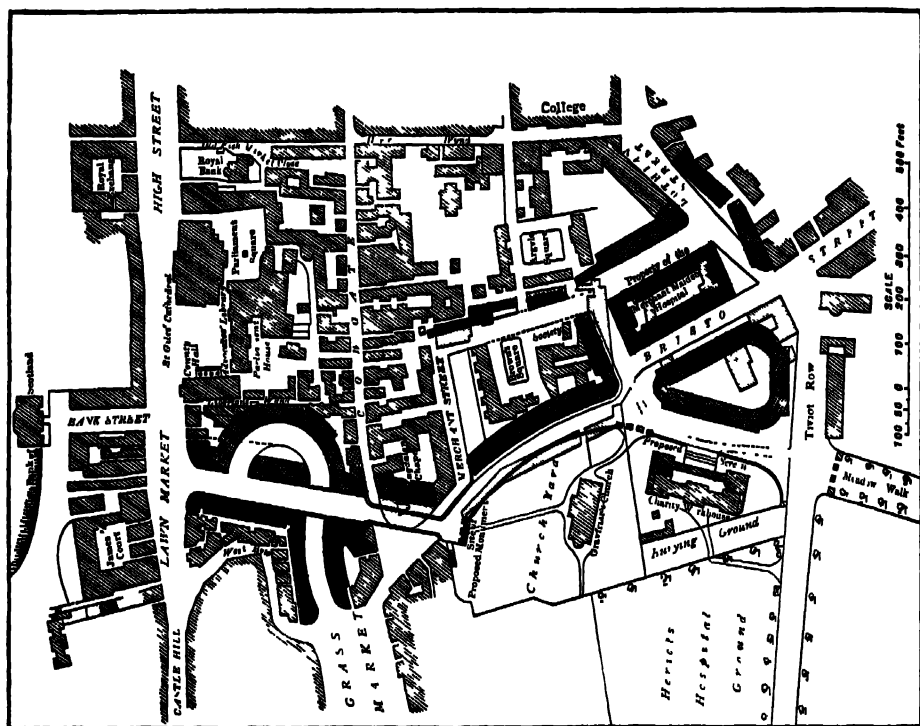
At the cost of about £10,000, the Normal School of the Church of Scotland was built westward of it, in 1845, and is a large and handsome edifice.

It is called the Normal School, or Church of Scotland Training College. It is under the control and management of the Education Committee of the Church. It is a double college, and like that in Glasgow, trains both masters and mistresses. The course of training extends over two years, and none are admitted as students but those who have passed a preliminary examination; but the committee exercise their discretion in making their

selection, without regard to the Government order of merit. The programme of instruction is prescribed by the Education Department; but the Education Committee of the Scottish Church are not limited by it, and give religious instruction on the basis of the Bible and Shorter Catechism, while promoting the study of Latin and elementary science. The

All students pay annually £2 each, a contribution to the book fund of the Training College, in return for which all necessary books are given to them by the committee; and this payment must be made by all, whether the books are taken or not.

These colleges date from about the year 1840.



PLAN FOR OPENING A COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH SIDES OF THE CITY BY MEANS OF A BRIDGE, ENTERING THE LAWNMARKET NEARLY OPPOSITE BANK STREET

(From an Engraving in the "Scots Magazine," 1817.)

students do not enter until they are eighteen years of age at least, and the principles and practice of teaching have a prominent place among the subjects of instruction.

Bursaries of the average value of £21 per annum, in addition to free education, are given to all the male students; while a considerable number of the average value of £12 is given to the female students, from whom alone a fee for education is expected

That in Johnstone Terrace was built to succeed an older (and less suitably equipped) edifice, which stood in what used to be called Market Street, near the Waverley Station, and near the Bank of Scotland.

Westward of the Training College, on the Castlebank, and facing the Grassmarket, a barrack for married soldiers stands, and there any soldier passing through Edinburgh, on obtaining permission, may pass the night.



51 MARY'S WYND, FROM THE PIFASANCE. (From a view published in 1829)

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### ST. MARY'S WYND

St. Mary's Wynd and Street—Sir David Annand—St. Mary's Cistercian Convent and Hospital—Bothwell's Brawl in 1562—The Cowgate Port—Rag Fair—The Ladies of Traquair—Ramsay's "White Horse" Inn—Pasquale de Paoli—Ramsay Retires with a Fortune—Boyd's "White Horse" Inn—Patronised by Dr. Johnson—Improvements in the Wynd—Catholic Institute—The oldest Do-ahead in the City

ST. MARY'S WYND and Leith Wynd lay in the direct line of the old Roman road, that crossed the rough and rugged slope on which, since then, the old city has been gradually developed. The former took its name from a chapel and convent of Cistercian nuns, together with a hospital dedicated to St. Mary, the two former being situated on the west side of the street at the head thereof, or near the boundary of the present Tweeddale Court, or Close; but when or by whom founded, not a trace or record is given by history.

When the battle of the Burghmuir was fought in 1335, Abercrombie\* tells us that the Namurois, when defeated by the Scots, "made an orderly retreat to Edinburgh; they faced about several times, as occasion offered or necessity required, particularly as they entered St. Mary's Wynd; and here a Scots knight, Sir David Annand, a man of incredible strength and less courage, having re-

ceived a wound from one of the enemy, was thereby so much exasperated, that, at once exerting all the vigour of his unwearied arms, he gave his adversary such a blow with an axe, that the sharp and ponderous weapon clave both man and horse, and falling with irresistible force to the ground, made a lasting impression upon the very stones of the street. This story may seem a little too romantic, and I would not have related it had I not cited a very good voucher, John de Fordoun, who flourished in 1360, not long after it happened."

John de Fordoun, called the father of Scottish history, was a priest in the diocese of St. Andrews, and if the street was known as St. Mary's Wynd in his days, the convent must have existed in the fourteenth century. The revenues of the hospital were very small; thus the Town Council passed an Act in 1499, during the provostry of Walter Bertram, ordaining the most respectable citizens to beg daily through the streets from all well-disposed persons; the money so obtained to be applied for

\* "Martial Achievements of the Scottish Nation."

the maintenance of the *heads-people* of that hospital ; and every person who refused to collect thus, was fined forty pence Scots, for the use of the poor. At this period the chaplain's salary was only six shillings and eightpence per annum. Spottiswood tells us that in the chartularies of St. Giles, "the nuns of St. Mary's Wynd, in the city of Edinburgh, are recorded," and in the statutes of the burgh, enacted during a terrible plague in 1530, a reference to the chapel is made in the case of Marion Clerk, who was convicted by an assize of concealing her infection, and attending, with many others, mass in "the chapell of Sanct Mary Wynd, on Sondag," and thereby risking the safety of all. For this crime the poor woman was ordained to suffer death by drowning at the Quarry Holes, near the east end of the Calton Hill.

In 1562 great excitement was occasioned in the city by an act of violence perpetrated by the notorious Earl of Bothwell, who, with the aid of the Marquis d'Elbœuf, Lord John of Coldinghame, and other wild spirits, broke up the doors of Cuthbert Ramsay's house in St. Mary's Wynd one night, while searching, sword in hand, for his daughter-in-law, Alison Craig, a celebrated courtesan, who, though living under the protection of "the godly Erl of Arrane," as Knox records in very coarse language, yet contrived to be on very good terms with other nobles who were his avowed enemies. A strong remonstrance was presented to the Queen on this subject, beseeching her to punish the perpetrators ; but as that was no easy matter, the brawl was hushed up, and, thus emboldened, Bothwell and other gallants proceeded to play wilder pranks in the streets during the night, till Gavin Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, who had joined the Reformation party, resolved to curb their violence by the strong hand. According to the histories of Knox and Keith, he armed all his followers, sallied forth to oppose the revellers, and a serious conflict ensued in the street, between the Cross and Tron. Crossbow bolts and hackbut shots flew far and near, while the alarm-bells summoned the burghers to "the redding of the fray," and rival leaders came sallying forth as hate or humour led them, to join in the riot ; till the Earls of Murray and Huntley, who were then residing at Holyrood, by order of the Queen, marched up the Canongate with all the armed men they could muster, and crushed the tumult. Bothwell afterwards, by the mediation of Knox, effected a reconciliation with the Earl of Arran, the Abbot of Kilwinning, and others who were his enemies.

In the subsequent conflicts of 1572, the houses in Leith Wynd and St. Mary's Wynd were unroofed,

and all the doors and windows of those on the west side of the latter were built up, among other preparations made by Sir William Kirkcaldy to defend the town against the king's men. At a still later date in the same year all the houses at the head of each of those wynds were "tane down," and no doubt on this occasion the chapel of St. Mary would be ruined and dismantled with the rest.

Again in 1650, when preparations were made to defend the city against Cromwell, Nicoll records in his quaint diary, that the magistrates demolished all the houses "in St. Marie Wynd, that the enymie sould haif no schelter thair," and that the cannon mounted on the Netherbow might have free passage for their shot.

At the foot of the wynd was situated the Cowgate Port, a city gate constructed as a portion of the second wall in 1513. At a subsequent date another was erected across the wynd, at its junction with the Pleasance ; it figures in Rothiemay's map as the *Porta platea Sancte Mariae*, a large arched building with gables at each end, and in Gordon's day it was seldom without the head, hands, or quarters of some unfortunate, such as Garnock and other Covenanters, displayed on its spikes. On the approach of the Highlanders in 1715, it was demolished, the citizens believing themselves unable to defend it ; but a portion of its wall, with one rusty spike thereon, remained until 1837, when it was removed to make way for a new Heriot's school. The whole alley was long, and until quite recently a species of great Rag Fair, where all manner of cast-off garments were exposed for sale, the walls literally appearing to be clothed with them from end to end.

In a house which had its entrance from the east side of the wynd, but the windows of which opened to the Canongate, there long resided two maiden ladies of the now extinct house of Traquair—the Ladies Barbara and Margaret Stuart—twin sisters, the children of Charles fourth Earl of Traquair (who died in 1741), and his Countess, Mary Maxwell, of the noble house of Nithsdale. The last of these two, Lady Barbara, died on the 15th of December, 1794, and they were among some of the last of note who lingered in the Old Town. "They drew out their innocent lives in this place," says Robert Chambers, "where latterly one of their favourite amusements was to make dolls, and little beds for them to lie on—a practice not quite uncommon in days long gone by, being to some degree followed by Queen Mary."

In the tenement opposite the site of St. Mary's chapel, on the east side of the wynd, and forming the portion of it that led into Boyd's Close, there

long dwelt the celebrated artistic decorator of many of the best old houses in Edinburgh, John Norrie, whose workshop adjoined the coach-house of Lord Milton, and both of which were converted into stables for Boyd's famous old "White Horse" Inn, one of the great hostleries of Edinburgh, in the days when "hotels" were unknown, and when guests, except those whose business was of a very temporary nature, usually repaired to lodging-houses, of which the most famous in 1754 was Mrs. Thomson's at the Cross, who, as per advertisement, served people who had not their own silver plate, tea china, table china, and tea linen, with all these luxuries, together with wines and spirits.

When the famous patriot chief, Pasquale de Paoli, had been driven into exile by the French invaders of Corsica, among other places in his wanderings he came to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1771, accompanied by the Polish Ambassador, Count Burzyski; and on the 3rd of September they arrived at Peter Ramsay's "White Horse" Inn, in St. Mary's Wynd, from whence he was immediately taken home by Boswell to his house in James's Court, while the Count became the guest of his neighbour, Dr. John Gregory, "to whom they brought a letter from the ingenious Mrs. Montague." Boswell introduced Paoli to Lord Kames, Dr. Robertson, David Hume, and others, who though greatly his seniors, admitted him into their circle, and he showed him over the Castle, Holyrood, Duddingston, and other places. Ramsay's inn was chiefly famous for its stables, and in that establishment he realised a large fortune.

In 1776 he advertised that, exclusive of some part of his premises recently offered for sale, he possessed "a good house for entertainment, good stables for above one hundred horses, and sheds for above twenty carriages." He retired from business in St. Mary's Wynd in 1790, with above £10,000, according to one account, and his death is thus recorded in the "Scottish Register." "Jan. 1, 1794. At his son's house of Gogar, Co. Edinburgh, Peter Ramsay, Esq., formerly an eminent innkeeper at the Cowgate Port, in which station he acquired upwards of £30,000. He has left one son, William Ramsay, jun., Esq., banker in Edinburgh, and one daughter, the widow of Captain Mansfield, of the South Fencible Regiment, who lost his life at Leith in 1779, when attempting to quell a mutiny."

Boyd's Close, or the White Horse Close, as it was often called, opened into Boyd's Entry from St. Mary's Wynd. The inn there was more modern, and was larger than Ramsay's, but had, like his,

the principal rooms above the stables; and at this "White Horse" it was that Dr. Johnson, on arriving at Edinburgh on the 17th of August, 1773, put up, and from whence he sent his curt note to Boswell:—

"Saturday night:—Mr. Johnson sends his compliments to Mr. Boswell, being just arrived at Boyd's."

And here it was, as we have related, that Boswell found him storming at the waiter, when he and William Scott, afterwards Lord Stowell, repaired thither, and received an instalment of that domineering manner which excited the aristocratic contempt that old Lord Auchinleck so freely expressed for "the dominie—the auld English dominie, that keepit a schule and ca'd it an acaademy."

In Boyd's "White Horse Inn" one particularly large room was the scene of many a marriage between runaway English couples; and on a window, written with a diamond, were long to be seen the remarkable names of

*Jeremiah and Sarah Bentham, 1768.*

"James Boyd, the keeper of this inn, was addicted to horse racing, and his victories on the turf, or rather on Leith sands, are frequently chronicled in journals of that day. It is said that he was one time on the brink of ruin, when he was saved by a lucky run with a white horse, which in gratitude he kept idle all the rest of its days, besides setting up its portrait as his sign. He eventually retired from this 'dirty and dismal' inn with a fortune of several thousand pounds; and, as a curious note upon the impression which its slovenliness conveyed to Dr. Johnson, it may be stated as a fact, well authenticated, that, at the time of his giving up the house he possessed naperly to the value of five hundred pounds."

St. Mary's Wynd was, in 1869, the first scene of the operations of the trustees who acted under the Improvement Act of 1867, when they commenced to pull down the buildings between it and Gullan's Close, in the Canongate. By this time it had become one of the most wretched slums in the city, a narrow and stifling alley, to navigate the intricacies of which required some courage. It was scarcely possible to avoid coming in contact with cast-off apparel of all kinds, or stumbling against piles of old boots, pots, pans, and furniture. Under designs furnished for the upper part by the late David Cousin, who for many years occupied an important official post in connection with the municipality, and for the lower part by Mr. Leasels, another architect, the wynd has now become a

broad and spacious thoroughfare, named St. Mary's Street, presenting on its eastern side a series of handsome façades, in the Scottish domestic style, with a picturesque variety of outline and detail.

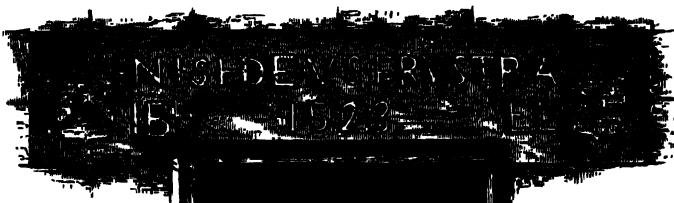
One of the most striking of the new buildings here, is the Edinburgh Catholic Institute, a turreted and gabletted edifice, the basement of which is occupied by spacious shops, and which stands upon the site of the old "White Horse" Inn, as an inscription built into the wall records thus:—

*"Boyd's Inn, at which Dr. Samuel Johnson arrived in Edinburgh, 14th August, 1773, on his memorable tour to the Hebrides, occupied the larger part of the site of this building."*

There is also built into another part of the

edifice a relic of one of the older ones, a lintel inscribed thus, with the city motto:—

NISI . DEVS . FRVSTRA .  
I B 1523 E L



DOORHEAD IN ST. MARY'S WYND (THE OLDEST EXTANT), BUILT INTO THE CATHOLIC INSTITUTE. (From a Drawing by the Author)

The Young Men's Catholic Society was established in 1865, and has an average yearly attendance of about 1,000 members, inclusive of

many who are honorary, but subscribe to the Association, the objects of which are to promote sobriety, religious deportment, and a brotherly feeling among young men of the Catholic faith. It contains a library and reading room, lecture and billiard room. It has a dramatic association, and by the committee who conduct it no means are left untried to increase the moral culture of the members.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### LEITH WYND.

Leith Wynd—Our Lady's Hospital—Paul's Work—The Wall of 1540—Its Fall in 1854—The "Happy Land"—Mary of Gueldres—Trinity College Church—Some Particulars of its Charter—Interior View—Decorations—Enlargement of the Establishment—Privileges of its Ancient Officers—The Duchess of Lennox—Lady Jane Hamilton Curious Remains Trinity Hospital—Sir Simon Preston's "Public Spirit"—Becomes a Corporation Charity Description of Buildings—Provisions for the Inmates—Lord Cockburn's Female Pensioner—Demolition of the Hospital—Other Charities.

THE connecting link between St. Mary's Wynd and Leith Wynd was the Nether Bow Port, a barrier, concerning the strength of which that veteran marshal, the Duke of Argyle, spoke thus in the debate of 1736 in reference to the Porteous mob:—

"The Nether Bow Gate, my Lords, stands in a narrow street; near it are always a number of coaches and carts. Let us suppose another insurrection is to happen. In that case, my Lords, should the conspirators have the presence of mind to barricade the street with these carriages, as may be done by a dozen of fellows, I affirm, and I appeal for the truth of what I advance to any man of my trade, who knows the situation of the place, if five hundred men may not keep out ten thousand for a longer time than that in which the mob executed their bloody designs against Porteous."

From the end of this gate, and bordered latterly on the west by the city wall, Leith Wynd, which is now nearly all a thing of the past, ran down the steep northern slope towards the base of the Calton Hill.

In the year 1479, Thomas Spence, Bishop of

Aberdeen, previously of Galloway, and Lord Privy Seal, founded, at the foot of Leith Wynd, and on the east side thereof, a hospital for the reception and entertainment of twelve poor men, under the name of "the Hospital of our Blessed Lady, in Leith Wynd;" and subsequently it received great augmentations to its revenues from other benefactors; but at first the yearly teinds did not amount to twelve pounds sterling, according to Arnot. From the name afterwards given to it, we are led to suppose that among the future benefactions there had been added a chapel or altarage, dedicated to St. Paul.

The records of Parliament show that somewhere in Edinburgh there were a hospital and chapel dedicated to that apostle, and that there was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin in 1495, by Sir William Knolles, Preceptor of Torphichen, who fell with King James at Flodden.

The founder of the hospital in Leith Wynd died at Edinburgh on the 15th of April, 1480, and was buried in the north aisle of Trinity College church, near his foundation.

The Town Council of Edinburgh became proprietors of this charity, according to their Register, in consequence of Queen Mary's grant to them of all such religious houses and colleges in Edinburgh, and in 1582 they resolved to adapt the bishop's college for other purposes than he intended, and

ding," says Arnot, "and paid the masters of the work, fifteen pence and a third of a penny weekly, during the first year of their apprenticeship. This was considered as a very beneficial institution, and accordingly, many well-disposed people enriched it with donations," but to the horror of the



CLOCK TOWER (probably destroyed in 1895)

issued an edict, that among the bedesmen entered there should be "na Papistes, but men of the "trew religion. The buildings having become ruinous, were reconstructed under the name of Paul's Work in 1619, and five Dutchmen were brought from Delft to teach certain boys and girls lodged therein the manufacture of coarse woollen stuffs. "They furnished the poor children whom they put to apprenticeship with clothes and bed-

Edinburghers in 1621, as Calderwood records, on the 1st of May certain profane and superstitious "weavers in Paul's Worke, Englishe and Dutche, set up a highe May pole, with garlants and bells," causing a great concourse of people to assemble, and it seemed eventually that the manufacture did not succeed, or the Town Council grew weary of encouraging it so they converted Paul's Work into a House of Correction.



In 1650 it was used as a hospital for the wounded soldiers of General Leslie's army, after his repulse of Cromwell's attack on Edinburgh. The building was decorated with the city arms, and many carved devices on the pediments of its dormer windows, while above the doorway was the legend—*GOD . BLIS . THIS . WARK . 1619*.

In February, 1696, Fountainhall reports a "Reduction pursued by the town of Edinburgh against Sir William Binny (ex-Provost) and other partners of the linen manufactory, in Paul's Work, of the tack set them in 1683. Insisted, that this house was founded by Thos. Spence, Bishop of Aberdeen, in the reign of James II., for discipline and training of idle vagabonds, and dedicated to St. Paul; and by an Act of Council in 1626, was destinate and mortified for educating boys in a woollen manufactory; and this tack had inverted the original design, contrary to the sixth Act of Parl. 1633, discharging the sacrilegious inversion of all pious donations." Sir William Binny, Knight, was Provost of the city in 1675-6. It bears a prominent place in Rothiemay's map, and stood partly within the Leith Wynd Port. In 1779 it was occupied by a Mr. Macdowal, "the present proprietor," says Arnot, "who carries on in it an extensive manufacture of broad cloths, hardly inferior to the English." The whole edifice was swept away by the operations of the North British Railway; and two very ancient keys found on its site were presented in 1849 to the Museum of Antiquities.

It was at the foot of this wynd that, in February, 1592, John Graham, a Lord of Session, was slain in open day, by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and others, not one of whom was ever tried or punished for the outrage.

By an Act of the seventh Parliament of James V., passed in 1540, the magistrates were ordained to warn all proprietors of houses on the west side of Leith Wynd that were ruinous, to repair or rebuild them within a year and a day, or to sell the property to those who could do so; and if no one would buy them, it was lawful for the said magistrates to cast down the buildings, "and with the stuffe and stanes thereof, bigge ane honest substantialious wall, fra the Porte of the Nether-bow to the Trinity College; and it shall not be lawful in tyme cumming, to any manner of person to persew them, nor their succssoures therefore. . . . And because the east side of the said wynd pertains to the Abbot and Convente of Holyrude House, it is ordained that the baillies of the Canonagat garre siklike be done upon the said east side," &c.

The line of this wall on the west side is distinctly

shown in Rothiemay's map of 1647, and also in Edgar's plan of Edinburgh. In both the east side presents a row of closely-built houses, extending from the head of the Canonigate to the site of the Leith Wynd Port, at Paul's Work.

In January, 1650, "John Wilsone, tailyour, in St. Marie Wynd, and John Sinclere, dag-maker (*i.e.*, pistol-maker) in Leith Wynd," were punished as false witnesses, in a plea between James Anderson, merchant in Calder, and John Rob in Easter Duddingston, for which they were sentenced by the Lords in Council and Session to be set upon the Tron, with a placard announcing their crime to the people pinned on the breast of each, and to have "thair eares nailed to the Trone, be the space of ane hour."

On the Leith Wynd Port, as on others, the quarters of criminals were displayed. In September, 1672, the Depute of Gilbert Earl of Errol (High Constable of Scotland) sentenced James Johnstone, violer, who had stabbed his wife, to be hanged, "and to have his right hand, which gave the stroak, cut off, and affixed upon Leithwind Port, and ordained the magistrats of Edinburgh to cause put the sentence to execution upon the 9th of that month."

In February, 1854, the wall of James the Fifth's time, on the west side of the wynd gave way, and a vast portion of it, which was about twenty feet high and four feet thick, fell with a dreadful crash, smashing in the doors and windows on the opposite side, and blocking the whole of the steep narrow thoroughfare, and burying in its *débris* four children, two of whom were killed on the instant, and two frightfully mangled.

Its fall was supposed to have been occasioned by a new wall, seven feet in height, raised upon its outer verge, to form the outer platform in front of a building known as St. Andrew's Hall, and afterwards the Training Institute of the Scottish Episcopal Society.

As St. Mary's Street, which lies in a line with this wynd, is in a direct line also from the Pleasance, to render the whole thoroughfare more completely available, it was deemed necessary by the Improvement Trustees to make alterations in Leith Wynd, by forming Jeffrey Street, which takes a semi-circular sweep, from the head of the Canonigate behind John Knox's house and church, onwards to the southern end of the North Bridge. Thus the whole of the west side of Leith Wynd and its south end have disappeared in these operations. One large tenement of great antiquity, and known as the "Happy Land," long the haunt of the most lawless characters, has disappeared, and

near its site stands one of the fine and spacious school houses erected for the School Board.

At the foot of Leith Wynd, on the west side, there was founded on the 5th of March, 1462, by royal charter, the collegiate church of the Holy Trinity, by Mary, Queen of Scotland, daughter of Arnold Duke of Gueldres, grand-daughter of John Duke of Burgundy, and widow of James II., slain about two years before by the bursting of a cannon at Roxburgh. Her great firmness on that disastrous occasion, and during the few remaining years of her own life, proves her to have been a

princess of no ordinary strength of mind. She took an active part in governing the stormy kingdom of her son, and died in 1463. Her early death may account for the nave never being built, though it was not unusual for devout persons in that age of church building, to erect as much as they could finish, and leave to the devotion of posterity the completion of the rest. Pitscottie tells us that she "was buried in the Trinitie College, quihilk she built herself." Her grave was violated at the Reformation.

The church was dedicated "to the Holy Trinity, to the ever blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, to St. Ninian the Confessor, and to all the saints and elect people of God." The foundation was for a provost, eight prebendaries, and two clerks, and with much minuteness several ecclesiastical benefices and portions of land were assigned for the support of the several offices; and in the charter there are some provisions of a peculiar character, in Scotland at least, and curiously illustrative of the age and its manners:—

"And we appoint that none of the said prebendaries or clerks absent themselves from their offices without the leave of the Provost, to whom it shall not be lawful to allow any of them above the space of fifteen days at a time, unless it be on extraordinary occasions, and then not without consent of the chapter; and whosoever of the said prebendaries or clerks shall act contrary to this ordinance,

his office shall be adjudged vacant, and the same shall, by the Provost and Chapter, with consent of the Ordinary, be conferred upon another. If any of the said prebendaries shall keep a *fire-maker*, and shall not dismiss her, after being therein admonished thereto by the Provost, his prebend shall be adjudged vacant, and conferred on another, by consent of the Ordinary as aforesaid.

"The Provost of the said college, whenever the office of provostory shall become vacant, shall by us and our successors, Kings of Scotland, be presented to the Ordinary; and the vicars belonging

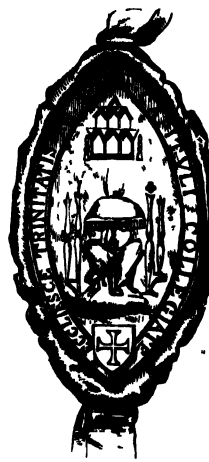
to the out-churches aforesaid, shall be presented by the Provost and Chapter of the said college to the Ordinary, from whom they shall receive canonical institution; and no prebendary shall be instituted unless he can read and sing plainly, count and discount, and that the boys may be found docile in the premises. And we further appoint and ordain, that whenever any of the said prebendaries shall read mass, he shall,

after the same, in his sacerdotal habits, repair to the tomb of the foundress with hyssop, and there read the prayer *De profundis*, together with that of the faithful, and exhortation to excite the people to devotion."

The choir of this church from the aisle to the west enclosure of the rood tower was 90 feet long, and 70 feet from transept to transept window; the north aisle was 12 feet broad, and the south 9 feet. It is a tradition in masonry that the north aisles of all Catholic churches were wider than the south, to commemorate the alleged circumstance of the Saviour's head, on the cross, falling on his right shoulder. In digging the foundation of the Scott monument, an old quarry 40 feet deep was discovered, and from it the stones from which the church was built were taken. With the exception of Holyrood, it was the finest example of decorated English Gothic architecture in the city, with many of the peculiarities of the age to which it belonged. Various armorial bearings adorned different parts



OLD COLLEGIATE SEALS, TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH.



of the building, among these ; on a buttress, at the west angle of the southern transept, was a shield, with the arms of Alexander Duke of Albany, who, at Mary's death, was resident at the Court of the Duke of Gueldres. Among the grotesque details of this church the monkey was repeated many times, especially among the gargoyles, and crouching monsters, as corbels or brackets, seemed in agony under the load they bore.

the entire teeth in the jaws, were found on the demolition of the church in 1840. They were placed in a handsome crimson velvet coffin, and re-interred at Holyrood. Portions of her original coffin are preserved in the Museum of Antiquities. Edinburgh could ill spare so fine an example of ecclesiastical architecture as this church, which was long an object of interest, and latterly of regret, for "it is with surprise," says a writer, about 1845,



TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, AND PART OF TRINITY HOSPITAL (TO THE RIGHT.)

[After a Drawing by Clerk of Eldon, 1780.]

Uthrogal, in Monimail, was formerly a leper hospital, and with the lands of Hospital-Milne, in the adjoining parish of Cults, was (as the Statistical Account of Scotland says) given by Mary of Gueldres to the Trinity Hospital, and after the suppression, it went eventually to the Earls of Leven. According to Sir Robert Sibbald, the parish church of Easter Wemyss, in Fife, also belonged "to the *Ecclesia Collegiata Sancta Trinitatis de Edinburgh*."

The parish churches of Soutra, Fala, Lampetlaw, Kirkurd, Ormiston, and Gogry, together with the lands of Blance, were annexed to it in 1529.

The tomb of the foundress lay in the centre of what was the Lady Chapel, or the sacristy of old, latterly the vestry ; and therein her bones, with

"that the traveller, just as he emerges from the temporary-looking sheds and fresh timber and plaster-work of the railway offices, finds himself hurried along a dusky and mouldering collection of buttresses, pinnacles, niches, and Gothic windows, as striking a contrast to the scene of fresh bustle and new life, as could well be conceived ; but the vision is a brief one, and the more usual concomitants of railways—a succession of squalid houses, and a tunnel—immediately succeed it."

In 1502 the establishment was enlarged by the addition of a dean and sub-dean, for whose support the college received a gift of the rectory of the parish church of Dunnottar ; and owing to the unsettled state of the country, it would appear that Sir Edward Bonkel, the first Provost, had to apply

to Parliament for assistance, to enforce the payment of his rents in Teviotdale

In June, 1526, its Provost sat in Parliament. In 1567 the Earl of Moray, then Regent of Scotland, gave to Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, then Provost of the City, the Trinity College church with all that belonged to it, and the latter bestowed it on the city. Robert Pont—an eminent churchman, judge, and miscellaneous writer, the son of John de

her off on his own horse in the night, and married her in d fiance of king and kirk. This was on the 19th of April, 1591, consequently she did not long survive her abduction.

Lady Jane Hamilton, youngest daughter of the Duke of Chatelherault, and Countess of the Earl of Eglinton, from whom she was divorced, in consequence of the parties standing in the fourth degree of consanguinity, who died at Edinburgh on the



TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH WITH CHURCH OFFICER'S HOUSE (†) AND PART OF TRINITY HOSPITAL (‡)  
(From a Drawing by Sandby in *Maitland's History of Edinburgh*.)

Pont, an illustrious Venetian who came to Scotland in the train of Mary of Guise—the last Provost of Trinity, in 1585, sold all the remaining rights that he had in the foundation, which James VI confirmed by charter two years afterwards. When the old religion was abolished, the revenues of the church amounted to only £362 Scots yearly.

Its seal, Scotland and Gueldres quarterly, is beautifully engraved among the Holyrood charters.

In May, 1592, Sophia Ruthven, the young Duchess of Lennox, was buried with great solemnity at the east end of the church. She was a daughter of the luckless Earl of Gowrie, who died in 1584, and was forcibly abducted from a house in Easter Wemyss, where she had been secluded to secure her from the violence of the Duke's passion. But he carried

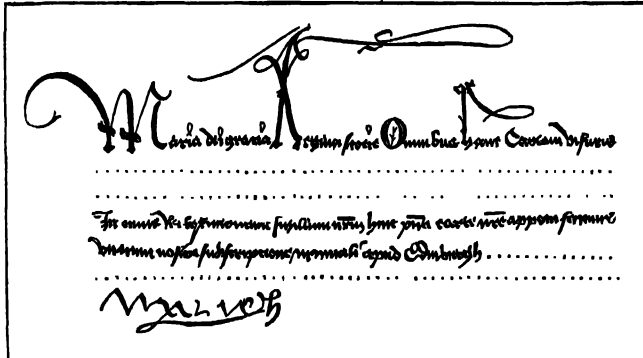
her off on his own horse in the night, and married her in d fiance of king and kirk. This was on the 19th of April, 1591, consequently she did not long survive her abduction.

The church and other prebendal buildings suffered with the other religious houses in the city during the tumults of the Reformation, and, according to Nicoll, in later years, at the hands of Cromwell's soldiers. While trenching the edifice, seeking for the remains of the Queen, those of many others all long before violated and disturbed, were found, together with numbers of bullocks' horns, and an incredible quantity of sheep head bones, and fragments of old Flemish quart bottles, the debris doubtless of the repasts of the workmen of 1462, and every stone in the building bore those marks with which all freemasons are familiar.

The history of this old ecclesiastical edifice is intimately connected with that of the Trinity Hospital, founded by the same munificent queen, and though the original edifice has passed away, her foundation is still the oldest charitable institution in her adopted city of Edinburgh. According to her plan or desire, the collegiate buildings were built immediately ad-

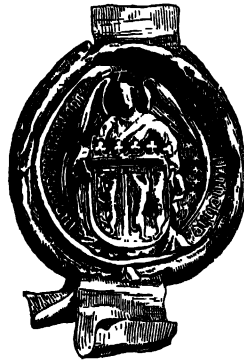
this of his awin free motive will, for the favour and luiff that he bears the Guid Toun."

Notwithstanding all this verbose minute, his grant was burdened with the existing interests, vested in the officials of the establishment, who had embraced the principles of the Reformation, and passed a series of new rules for their bedes-



joining the church; while the hospital for her bedesmen stood at first on the opposite side of Leith Wynd. It became ruinous and was demolished probably about 1567, when the whole of the collegiate buildings were bestowed upon Sir Simon Preston, who, within two days thereafter, bestowed them on the city by an act which received as much praise as if it had been a public-spirited disposal of his own property, and is thus recorded in the minutes of the Town Council:—

"The quhillk day in the Counsall Houss of this Burgh, comperit Sir Simon Prestoun of Craigmillar, Knight, Provost of this Burgh, and shew and declarit to the said Baillies, Counsall, and Deakynes, that he had obtained and impetrat at my Lord Regent's hands, a gift of the Trinity College Kirk, housses, biggins, and yards adjacent thereto, and by and contigue to the samyn, to be ane Hospital to the Puir, and to be biggit and uphaldane by the Guid Toun and the Eleemosinaries to be placet thairinto. . . . and notwithstanding that he has laborit the samyn, it was not his mind to lauborit to his awin behuif, but to the Guid Toun as said is, and therefore, presentlic gacss (gives) the gift thereof to the Guid Toun, and transferit all right and tytill he had, hes or might have thereto, in to the Guid Toun, fra him and his airs for ever, and promisit that quhat right hereafter they desyrit him to make thereof, or suretie, he would do this samyn, and that he, nor his airs, would never pretend rycht thereto, and



SEAL AND AUTOGRAPH OF MARY OF GUELDRS.

men, whom they required only to know the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and to be neither "drunkinsom tailyours," bouncers, nor swearers.

Under the new régime, the first persons on record as being placed in it, are Robert Murdoch, James Gelly, John Muir, James Wright, John Wotherspoon, Isabel Bernard, and Janet Gate.

In 1578, when Robert Pont had been seven years Provost of Trinity, and the establishment of a university in Edinburgh was contemplated, the magistrates endeavoured to arrange with him for having their new institution grafted on the old foundation of Mary of Gueldres, and to be called the University of Trinity College; but the idea

was abandoned. At length, as stated, Robert Pont, in 1585, resigned all his rights and interests in the establishment, for the sum of 300 merks down, and an annuity of £160 Scots.

In 1587 an Act was passed revoking all grants made during the king's minority, of hospitals, *Maisons Dieu*, and "lands or rentis appertaining thereto," the object of which was, that they might be applied to this original purpose—the sustentation of the poor, and not to the aggrandisement of mere individuals; and in this Act it was specially ordained, that the rents of the Trinity College, "quhilk is now decayit," be assigned to "the new hospitall erectit be the Provost, Baillies, and Counsell," and thus it became for ever a corporation charity, for which a suitable edifice was found by simply repairing the ruinous buildings, occupied of old by the Provost and prebends, south of the church, and on the west side of the wynd.

It was a fine specimen of the architecture and monastic accommodation of the age in which it was erected. It was two storeys high, and formed two sides of a square, and though far from ornamental, its air of extreme antiquity, the smallness and depth of its windows, its silent, melancholy, and deserted aspect, in the very heart of a crowded city, and latterly amid the uproar and bustle of the fast-encroaching railway, seldom failed to strike the passer with a mysterious interest.

Along the interior of the upper storey of the longer side there was a gallery, about half the width of the house, lighted from the west, which served alike as a library (consisting chiefly of quaint old books of dry divinity), a promenade, and grand corridor, winged with a range of little rooms, some whilom the prebends' cells, each of which had a bed, table, and chair, for a single occupant. The other parts of the building were more modern sitting rooms, the erection of the sixteenth century, when it became destined to support decayed burgesses of Edinburgh, their wives and unmarried children, above fifty years of age. "Five men and two women were first admitted into it," says Arnot, "and, the number gradually increasing, amounted A.D. 1700 to fifty-four persons. It was found, however, that the funds of the hospital could not then support so many, and the number of persons maintained in it has frequently varied. At present (1779) there are within the hospital forty men and women, and, there are besides twenty-six out-pensioners. The latter have £6 a year, the former are maintained in a very comfortable manner. Each person has a convenient room. The men are each allowed a hat, a pair of breeches, a pair of shoes, a pair of stockings, two shirts, and

two neckcloths, yearly; and every other year a coat and waistcoat. The women have yearly, a pair of shoes, pair of stockings, two shifts; and every other year a gown and petticoat. For buying petty necessities the men are allowed 6s. 8d., the women 6s. 6d., yearly. Of food, each person has a daily allowance of twelve ounces of household bread; and of ale, the men a Scots pint each, the women two-thirds of a pint. For breakfast they have oatmeal-porridge, and for dinner, four days in the week, broth and boiled meat, two days roast meat, and each Monday, in lieu of flesh, the men are allowed 2d., the women 1½d. apiece."

Such was this old charity towards the close of the eighteenth century. The inmates were of a class above the common, and whom a poor-house life would have degraded, yet quarrels, even riots, among them were so frequent, that the attention of the governors had more than once to be called to the subject, though they met only at meals and evening worship. Yet, occasionally, some belonged to the better classes of society. Lord Cockburn, writing in 1840, says:—"One of the present female pensioners is ninety-six. She was sitting beside her own fire. The chaplain shook her kindly by the hand, and asked her how she was. 'Very weel—just in my creeping ordinary.' There is one Catholic here, a merry little woman, obviously with some gentle blood in her veins, and delighted to allude to it. This book she got from Sir John Something; her great friend had been Lady something Cunningham; and her spinet was the oldest that had ever been made; to convince me of which she opened it, and pointed exultingly to the year 1776. Neither she nor the ninety-six-year-old was in an ark, but in a small room. On overhearing my name, she said she was once at Miss Brandon's boarding-school, in Bristo Street, with a Miss Matilda Cockburn, 'a pretty little girl.' I told her that I remembered that school quite well, and that the little girl was my sister; and then I added as a joke, that all the girls at that school were said to have been pretty, and all light-headed, and given to flirtation; the tumult revived in the vestal's veins. Delighted with the imputation, she rubbed her hands together, and giggled till she wept." The octogenarian he refers to was a Miss Gibb, and the last nearly of the old original inmates.

By 1850 the revenues amounted to about £2,000 per annum.

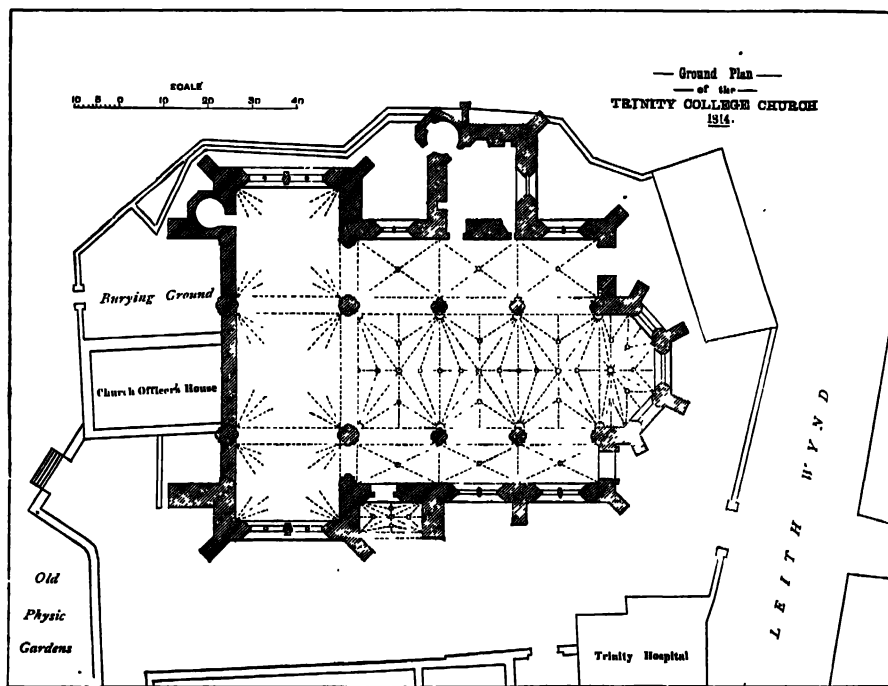
At its demolition, in 1845, forty-two persons were maintained within the hospital, who then received pensions of £26 each. Those elected since that period receive £20 yearly each; one hundred and twenty others have an annual allowance

of £10 each. The benefits of the endowments are still destined to "burgesses, their wives or children not married, nor under the age of fifty years." Ten others have pensions of £10 each out of the funds bequeathed by the late Mr. William Lennie to the hospital, of which the magistrates and Town Council are perpetual governors.

According to Gordon of Rothiemay's map, the water of the North Loch washed the western

whole area occupied by the church and collegiate buildings of the Holy Trinity was then included in the original termini of the Edinburgh and Glasgow, the North British, the Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee lines of railway.

After the Trinity College Hospital, the next beneficent institution in Edinburgh (apart from the Craigcrook one, which dates from 1720), seems to have been the Horn Charity, of which we have the



GROUND PLAN OF TRINITY COLLEGE CHURCH, 1814.

boundary-wall of its garden, in which he shows parterres and three rows of large trees, and also a square lantern and vane above the roof of the large hall; and in Edgar's map, a hundred years later, the waters of the loch came no farther eastward than the line of the intended North Bridge, between which and the hospital lay the old Physic Gardens. "Its demolition brought to light many curious evidences of its former state," says Wilson. "A beautiful large Gothic fireplace, with clustered columns and a low, pointed arch, was disclosed in the north gable, and many rich fragments of Gothic ornament were found built into the walls, remains no doubt of the original hospital buildings, used in the enlargement and repair of the college." The

following succinct account in the *Scots Magazine* for 1805:—

"In 1741 Captain Alexander Horn, of the city of London, by his last will bequeathed £3,500, old and new South Sea Annuities, to be disposed of at the discretion of the Lord Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer of the city of Edinburgh, on account of their early appearance and noble stand in the cause of liberty (was this a reference to the Porteous mob?) as follows:—The interest of £1,500 on Christmas-day yearly, to such day labourers of Edinburgh as by the inclemency of the weather may be set idle and reduced to want; interest of £1,000 to day labourers as aforesaid, in the Potter Row, Bristo, and West Port; and



TRINITY HOSPITAL (From a view published in 1845)

the interest of £1,000 to day labourers as afore-  
 said of the neighbouring parish of Liberton, £100  
 to the Royal Infirmary, £100 to the Society in  
 Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge,  
 and no family to receive above £5 sterling per  
 annum, or under fifty shillings "

## CHAPTER XXXVIII

## THE WEST BOW

The West Bow—Quaint Character of its Houses—Its Modern Aspect—Houses of the Templar Knights—The Bowfoot Well—The Bow Port—  
 The Bowhead—Major Weir's Land—History of Major Thomas Weir—Personal Appearance—His Powerful Prayers—The "Holy Sisters"  
 —The Bowhead Saint—Weir's Reputed Compact with the Devil—Sick-bed Confession—Arrest—Search of his House—Prison Confession—  
 —Trial of Him and His Sister Gruzel—Execution—What was Weir?—His Sister undoubtedly Mad—Terrible Reputation of the House  
 Untenanted for upwards of a Century—Patullo's Experience of a Cheap Lodging—Weir's Improved Out of Existence—Hall of the  
 Knights of St John—A Mysterious House—Somerville Mansion—The Assembly Room—Opposed by the Bigotry of the Times—The  
 Lady Directress—Curious Regulations

No part of Edinburgh was so rich in quaint old houses as "the sanctified bends of the Bow"—singular edifices, many of them of vast and unknown antiquity, and all more or less irregular, with stone gables and dove-cot gablets, timber galleries, outshots, and strange projections, the dormer windows, patches and additions made in the succession of centuries, overhanging the narrow and tortuous street, which took the windings of the zig-zag road that led of old from the wooded waste to Dunedin, the fort on the slope, at the gates of which King David dispensed justice to his people,

and his queen daily distributed bread to the poor. Among the last charters of David II is one to Thomas Webster, of "the land in the West Bow."

Its antique tenements, covered with heraldic carvings and quaint dates, half hidden by sign-boards or sordid rags drying on poles, its nooks, crooks, trap doors, and gloomy chambers, abounded with old memories, with heroic stories of ancient martial families, and with grim legends and grandmothers' tales of ghosts and of diablerie; but to those who see it now, or all that remains of it, where it abuts on the Grassmarket, cut asunder



by Victoria Terrace, replaced in one part by a flight of stairs, in another by the Free Church of St. John, and sloping away eastward into Victoria Street, it is impossible to realise what the old West Bow, which served as a connecting link between the High and the Low Town, the Lawnmarket and the Grassmarket, really was. The pencil of the artist alone may reproduce its features.

At its lower end were the houses that belonged to the Knights of the Temple, whereon, to mark them as beyond the reach of corporation enactments, the iron cross of St. John was placed so lately as the eighteenth century, by the Bailie of Lord Torphichen, as proprietor of the lands of St. John of Jerusalem; and there flows, as of old, the Bowfoot Well, built by Robert Mylne in 1681, just where it is shown in Edgar's map of the city when the Bow was then, as it had been centuries before, the principal entrance to the city from the west.

One of the chief relics in the West Bow was an enormous rusty iron hook, on which hung an ancient gate of the city wall, the upper Bow Port, built in 1450. It stood in the wall of a house at the first angle on the east side, about four feet from the ground. When Maitland wrote his history in 1753, two of these hooks were visible; but by the time that Chambers wrote his "Traditions," in 1824, the lower one had been buried by the level of the street having been raised.

Among those slain at the Battle of Pinkie, in 1547, we find the name of John Hamilton (of the house of Innerwick), a merchant in the West Bow. This John Hamilton was a gallant gentleman, whose eldest son was ancestor of the Earls of Haddington, and whose second son was a secular priest, Rector of the University of Paris, and one of the Council of the League that offered the crown of France to the King of Spain in 1591.

Opposite St. John's Free Church and the General Assembly Hall there stood, till the spring of 1878 that wonderfully picturesque old tenement, with a description of which we commenced the story of the houses on the south side of the Lawnmarket; and lower down the Bow was another, demolished about the same time.

The latter was a stone land, without any timber additions, having a dark grey front of polished ashlar, supposed to have been built in the days of Charles I. String-courses of moulded stone decorated it, and on the bed-corbel of its crow-stepped gable was a shield with the letters I. O., T. B., with a merchant's mark between them, doubtless the initials of the first proprietor and of his wife.

From its gloomy history and better architecture, the next tenement, which stood a little way back

—for every house in the Bow was built without the slightest reference to the site of its neighbour—is more worthy of note, as the alleged abode of the terrible wizard, and bearing the name of Major Weir's Land—but in reality the dwelling of the major stood behind it.

The city motto appeared on a curious dormer window over the staircase, and above the elaborately moulded entrance door, which was only five feet six inches in height by three feet six in breadth, were the legend and date,

SOLI. DEO. HONOR. ET  
GLORIA. D.W. 1604.

In the centre were the arms of David Williamson, a wealthy citizen, to whom the house belonged. This legend, so common over the old doorways of the city, was the fashionable grace before dinner at the tables of the Scottish noblesse during the reigns of Mary and James VI., and like others noted here, was deemed to act as a charm, and to bar the entrance of evil. But the turnpike stair within, says Chambers, "was said to possess a strange peculiarity—namely, that people who ascended it felt as if going down, and not up a stair."

A passage, low-browed, dark, and heavily vaulted, led, until February, 1878, through this tall tenement into a narrow court eastward thereof, a gloomy, dark, and most desolate-looking place, and there abode of old with his sister, Grizel, the notorious wizard whose memory is so inseparably woven up with the superstitions of old Edinburgh.

Major Thomas Weir of Kirktown was a native of Lanarkshire, where the people believed that his mother had taught him the art of sorcery, before he joined (as Lieutenant) the Scottish army, sent by the Covenanters in 1641 for the protection of the Ulster colonists, and with which he probably served at the storming of Carrickfergus and the battle of Benburb, and from this force he had been appointed, when Major in the Earl of Lanark's Regiment, and Captain-Lieutenant of Home's Regiment, to the command of that ancient gendarmerie, the Guard of Edinburgh, in which capacity he attended the execution of the great Montrose in 1650.

He was a grim-featured man, with a large nose, and always wore a black cloak of ample dimensions. He usually carried a staff, the supposed magical powers of which made it a terror to the community. He pretended to be a religious man, but was in reality a detestable hypocrite; and the frightful story of his secret life is said to have furnished Lord Byron with the plot of his tragedy *Manfred*; and his evil reputation, which does not rest on obscure allusions in legendary superstition, has left,

even to this day, a deep-rooted impression on the popular mind.

A powerful hand at praying and expounding, "he became so notoriously regarded among the Presbyterian sect, that if four met together, be sure Major Weir was one," says Chambers, quoting Fraser's MS. in the Advocates' Library; "'at private meetings he prayed to admiration, which made many of that stamp court his converse. He never married, but lived in a private lodging with his sister Grizel Weir. Many resorted to his house to join with him, and hear him pray; but it was observed that he could not officiate in any holy duty without the black staff, or rod, in his hand, and leaning upon it, which made those who heard him pray, admire his flood in prayer, his ready extemporary expression, his heavenly gesture, so that he was thought more an angel than a man, and was termed by some of the holy sisters, ordinarily *Angelical Thomas*.'"

"Holy sisters," in those days abounded in the major's quarter; and, indeed, during all the latter part of the 17th century the inhabitants of the Bow enjoyed a peculiar fame for piety and zeal in the cause of the National Covenant, and were frequently subjected to the wit of the Cavalier faction; Dr. Pitcairn, Pennycrook, the burges bard, stigmatised them as the "Bow-head Saints," the "godly plants of the Bow-head," &c.; and even Sir Walter Scott, in describing the departure of Dundee, sings:—

"As he rode down the sanctified bends of the Bow,  
Ilka carline was flying and shaking her pow;"

and it was in this quarter that many of the polemical pamphlets and sermons of Presbyterian divines have since been published.

Major Weir, "after a life characterised externally by all the graces of devotion, but polluted in secret by crimes of the most revolting nature, and which little needed the addition of wizardry to excite the horror of living men, fell into a severe sickness, which affected his mind so much that he made open and voluntary confession of all his wickedness."

According to Professor Sinclair, the major had made a compact with the devil, who of course outwitted his victim. The fiend had promised, it was said, to keep him scatheless from all peril, but a single "burn;" hence the accidental naming of a man named Burn, by the sentinels at the Nether Bow Port, when he visited them as commander of the Guard, cast him into a fit of terror; and on another occasion, finding Libberton Burn before him, was sufficient to make him turn back trembling.

His sick-bed confession, when he was now verging on his seventieth year, seemed at first so incredible that Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, who was Lord Provost from 1662 to 1673, refused for a time to order his arrest. Eventually, however, the major, his sister (the partner of one of his crimes), and the black magical staff, were all taken into custody and lodged in the Tolbooth.

The staff was secured by the express request of his sister, and local superstition still records how it was wont to perform all the major's errands for any article he wanted from the neighbouring shops; that it answered the door when "the pin was tired," and preceded him in the capacity of a link-boy at night in the Lawnmarket. In his house several sums of money in dollars were found wrapped up in pieces of cloth. A fragment of the latter, on being thrown on the fire by the bailie in charge, went up the wide chimney with an explosion like a cannon, while the dollars, when the magistrate took them home, flew about in such a fashion that the demolition of his house seemed imminent.

While in prison he confessed, without scruple, that he had been guilty of crimes alike possible and impossible. Stung to madness by conscience, the unfortunate wretch seemed to feel some comfort in sharing his misdeeds with the devil, yet he refused to address himself to Heaven for pardon. To all who urged him to pray, he answered by wild screams. "Torment me no more—I am tortured enough already!" was his constant cry; and he declined to see a clergyman of any creed, saying, according to Law's "Memorials," that "his condemnation was sealed; and since he was to go to the devil, he did not wish to anger him!"

When asked by the minister of Ormiston if he had ever seen the devil, he answered, "that any fealling he ever hade of him was in the dark."

He and his sister were tried on the 9th of April, 1670, before the Justiciary Court; he was sentenced to be strangled and burned, between Edinburgh and Leith, and his sister Grizel (called Jean by some), to be hanged in the Grassmarket.

When his neck was encircled by the fatal rope at the place of execution, and the fire that was to consume his body—the "burn" to which, as the people said, the devil had lured him—he was bid to say, "Lord, be merciful to me!" but he only replied fiercely and mournfully, "Let me alone—I will not; I have lived as a beast and must die like a beast." When his lifeless body fell from the stake into the flaming pyre beneath, his favourite stick, which (according to *Ravallac Redivivus*) "was all of one piece of thornwood, with a crooked

head," and without the aid of which he could perform nothing, was cast in also, and it was remarked by the spectators that it gave extraordinary twistings and writhings, and was as long in burning as the major himself. The place where he perished was at Greenside, on the sloping bank, whereon, in 1846, was erected the new church, so called

If this man was not mad, he certainly was a singular paradox in human nature, and one of a

ing to the Tolbooth from Greenside, she would not believe that her brother had been burned till told that it had perished too, "whereupon, notwithstanding her age, she numbly, and in a furious rage, fell upon her knees, uttering words horrible to be remembered." She assured her hearers that her mother had been a witch, and that when the mark of a horse shoe—a mark which she herself displayed—came on the forehead of the old woman, she could



TRINITY CHURCH AND HOSPITAL AND NEIGHBOURHOOD (*from Collection of Roth emay's Map*)

57 Halkerton's Wynd 58 Leith Wynd 6 St. Ring's Suburbs or the Peggarr Row 27 the North Craigs or Neil's Craigs 4 the  
Correct or Ho use 6 the College Kirk 1 Trinity Hospital 1 Leith Wynd Port 1 St. Paul's Work

kind somewhat uncommon—outwardly he exhibited the highest strain of moral sentiment for years, and during all that time had been secretly addicted to every degrading propensity, till eventually, unable to endure longer the sense of secret guilt and hypocrisy, with the terrors of sickness and age upon him, and death seeming near, he made a confession which some at first believed, and on that confession alone was sentenced to die

If Weir was not mad, the ideas and confessions of his sister show that she undoubtedly was. She evidently believed that her brother's stick was one possessed of no ordinary power. Professor Sinclair tells us, that on one of the ministers return-

tell of events then happening at any distance, and to her ravings in the Tolbooth must some of the darkest traditions of the West Bow be assigned

She confessed that she was a sorceress, and among other incredible things, said that many years before a fiery chariot, unseen by others, came to her brother's house in open day, a stranger invited them to enter, and they proceeded to Dalkeith. While on the road another stranger came, and whispered something in the ear of her brother, who became visibly affected, and this intelligence was tidings of the defeat of the Scottish army, that very day, at Worcester. She stated, too, that a dweller in Dalkeith had a familiar spirit, who span for her

an extraordinary quantity of yarn, in the time that it would have taken four women to do so.

At the place of execution in the Grassmarket a frenzy seized her, and the wretched old creature began to rend her garments, in order, as she shrieked, that she might die "with all the shame she could!"

Undeterred by her fate, ten other old women were in the same year burned in Edinburgh for alleged dabbling in witchcraft.

flaming torches, as if a multitude of people were there, all laughing merrily. "This sight, at so dead a time of night, no people being in the windows belonging to the close, made her and her servant haste home, declaring all that they saw to the rest of the family."

"For upwards of a century after Major Weir's death he continued to be the bugbear of the Bow, and his house remained uninhabited. His apparition," says Chambers, "was frequently seen at



MAJOR WEIR'S LAND

(From a Measured Drawing by Thomas Hamilton, published in 1830.)

The reverend Professor who compiled "Satan's Invisible World," relates that a few nights before the major made his astounding confession, the wife of a neighbour, when descending from the Castle Hill towards the Bow-head, saw three women in different windows, shouting, laughing, and clapping their hands. She passed on, and when abreast of Major Weir's door, she saw a woman of twice mortal stature arise from the street. Filled with great fear, she desired her maid, who bore a lantern, to hasten on, but the tall spectre still kept ahead of them, uttering shouts of "unmeasurable laughter," till they came to the narrow alley called the Stinking Close, into which the spectre turned, and which was seen to be full of

night, flitting like a black and silent shadow about the street. His house, though known to be deserted by everything human, was sometimes observed at midnight to be full of lights, and heard to emit strange sounds, as of dancing, howling, and, what is strangest of all, spinning. Some people occasionally saw the major issue from the low close at midnight, mounted on a black horse without a head, and gallop off in a whirlwind of flame. Nay, sometimes the whole inhabitants of the Bow would be roused from their sleep at an early hour in the morning by the sound of a coach and six, first rattling up the Lawnmarket, and then thundering down the Bow, stopping at the head of the terrible close for a few minutes, and then rattling and

thundering back again ; being neither more nor less than Satan come in one of his best equipages to take home the major and his sister after they had spent a night's leave of absence in their terrestrial dwelling."

Scott also tells us in his "Letters on Demonology," that bold indeed was the urchin who approached the gloomy house, at the risk of seeing the major's enchanted staff parading the desolate apartments, or hearing the hum of the necromantic wheel which procured for his sister such a reputation as a spinner.

About the beginning of the present century, according to the author above quoted, when Weir's house was beginning to be regarded with less superstitious terror, an attempt was made by the luckless proprietor to find one bold enough to become his tenant, and such an adventurer was procured in the person of a dissipated old soldier named William Patullo, whose poverty rendered him glad to possess a house at any risk, on the low terms at which it was offered ; and the greatest interest was felt by people of all ranks in the city, on its becoming known that Major Weir's house was about to have a mortal tenant at last !

Patullo and his spouse felt rather flattered by the interest they excited ; but on the first night, as the venturesome couple lay abed, fearful and wakeful, "a dim uncertain light proceeding from the gathered embers of their fire, and all being silent around them—they suddenly saw a form like that of a calf, which came forward to the bed, and setting its fore-feet upon the stock, looked steadfastly at the unfortunate pair. When it had contemplated them thus for a few minutes, to their great relief it took itself away, and, slowly retiring, vanished from their sight. As might be expected, they deserted the house next morning ; and for another half century no other attempt was made to embark this part of the world of light from the aggressions of the world of darkness."

But even the world of spirits could not withstand the Improvement Commission, and the spring of 1878 saw the house of the wizard numbered with the things that are no more in this quarter of Edinburgh, and to effect the removal of which the Commissioners gave freely the sum of £400,000.

Behind the abode of the major in the West Bow, but entered from Johnstone's Close, Lawnmarket, was another very remarkable old house which was demolished about the same time.

Of this building Wilson says in his "Memorials," that it exhibits an interior "abounding with plain arched recesses and corbelled projections, scattered throughout in the most irregular and lawless fashion,

and with narrow windows thrust into the oddest corners, or up even above the very cornice of the ceiling, in order to catch every wandering ray of light, amid the jostling of its pent-up neighbourhood. A view of the largest apartment is given in the Abbotsford edition of the Waverley novels, under the name of the 'Hall of the Knights of St. John, St. John's Close, Canongate.'" But he adds that he had failed in every attempt to obtain any clue to the early history of this mysterious edifice which tradition thus associated with the soldier-monks of Torphichen.

Discoveries made in the course of its demolition added to the mystery concerning it. In the stair leading from the court to the hall there was a quaint holy-water font ; and in clearing out the interior, it was found that the ceiling had at one time been beautifully painted with flowers and geometric designs. In the great open chimney-place of the hall there were, singularly enough, two small windows ; and in the heart of the massive walls were found secret stairs that led from the hall to rooms above it.

In addition to these secret passages, the walls disclosed four recesses that had been faced with stone, and which concealed the relics of more than one crime or mystery that will never be unravelled. One held the skeleton of a child, with its cap and part of its dress ; and in the other there were quantities of human bones. In a built-up cupboard a large vertebral bone of a whale was discovered. "The beams of the hall," says the *Scotsman* of 8th February, 1878, "and indeed of the whole house, were of oak, which, according to tradition, was grown on the Burghmuir, and, with the exception of the ends which had been built into the wall, the wood was found to be perfectly sound and beautifully grained."

Immediately opposite the close that led to the house of Major Weir, and occupying nearly the site of the present St. John's Free Church, stood an old tenement, which bore the date 1602, with the arms of the Somerville family, and the initials P. S. and J. W., being those of a once worthy and wealthy magistrate and his wife, whose son Bartholomew Somerville was a benefactor to the University of Edinburgh, when that institution was in its infancy. The architrave of the door bore also the legend

IN. DOMINO. CONFIDO.

A narrow spiral stair led to a lofty wainscoted room, with a fine carved oak ceiling, on the second floor. This was the first Edinburgh Assembly Room, off which was a closet or recess, forming an out-shot over the street, wherein the musicians

could retire for refreshments, or to rosin their bows. Here then did the fair dames of Queen Anne's time, in their formal stomachers, long gloves, ruffles and lappets, meet in the merry country dance, or the stately *minuet de la cour*, the beaux of the time, with their square-cut velvet coats and long-flapped waistcoats, with sword, ruffles, and toupee in tresses, when the news was all about the battle of Almanza, the storming of Barcelona, or the sinking of the Spanish galleons by Benbow in the West Indies, or it might be—in whispers—of the unfurling of the standard on the Braes of Mar.

The regular assembly, according to Arnot, was first held in the year 1710, and it continued entirely under private management till 1746, but though the Scots as a nation are passionately fond of dancing, the strait-laced part of the community bitterly inveighed against this infant institution. In the Library of the Faculty of Advocates there is a curious little pamphlet, entitled, a "Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend in the City, with an Answer thereto concerning the New Assembly," which affords a remarkable glimpse of the bigotry of the time :—

"I am informed that there is lately a society erected in your town, which I think is called an Assembly. The speculations concerning this meeting have of late exhausted the most part of the public conversation in this countryside: some are pleased to say that 'tis only designed to cultivate polite conversation, and genteel behaviour among the better sort of folks, and to give young people an opportunity of accomplishing themselves in both ;

while others are of opinion that it will have quite a different effect, and tends to vitiate and deprave the minds and inclinations of the younger sort."

The author, who might have been Davie Deans himself, and who writes in 1723, adds that he had been much stirred on this matter by the approaching solemnity of the Lord's Supper, and that he had been "informed that the design of this (weekly) meeting was to afford some ladies an opportunity to alter the station that they had long fretfully continued in, and to set off others as they should prove ripe for the market."

The old Presbyterian abhorrence of "promiscuous dancing" was only held in check by the less strait-laced spirit of the Jacobite gentry; but so great was the opposition to the Edinburgh Assembly, as Jackson tells us in his "History of the Stage," that a furious rabble once attacked the rooms, and perforated the closed doors with red-hot spits.

Arnot says that the lady-directress sat at the head of the room, wearing the badge of her office, a gold medal with a motto and device, emblematic of charity and parental tenderness.

After several years of cessation, under the effect of local mal-influence, when the Assembly was re-constituted in 1746, among the regulations hung up in the hall, were two worth quoting :—

"No lady to be admitted in a *night-gown* (*negligé* ?), and no gentleman in boots."

"No misses in skirts and jackets, robe-coats, nor staybodied-gowns, to be allowed to dance in country dances, but in a set by themselves."

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### THE WEST BOW (concluded).

A Hand to Hand Combat in the Bow—Murder in 1605 in the Bow—The House of Lord Ruthven—The Hidden Sword—Processions in the Bow—The Jacobite Prisoners—House of Provost Stewart—A Secret Entertainment to Prince Charlie—Donald on the Printer—State of Printing and Publishing in his Day—The *Edinburgh Advertiser*—Splendid Fortune of his Descendant—Town House of the Napier of Wright-house—Trial of Barbara Napier for Witchcraft—Clockmaker Land—Paul Romieu—The Mahogany Land—Duncan Campbell, Chirurgeon—Templar Houses.

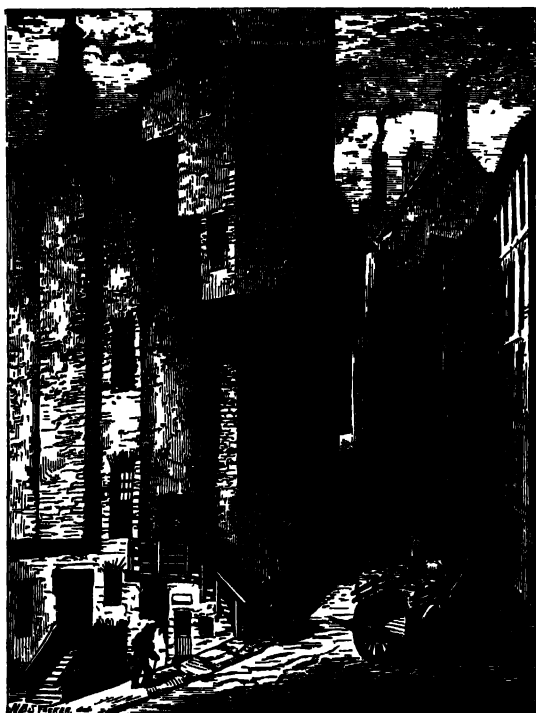
A BITTER personal quarrel had existed for some years between James Johnstone of Westerhall and Hugh (from his bulk generally known as Braid Hugh) Somerville of the Writes, and they had often fought with their swords and parted on equal terms. Somerville, in the year 1596, chancing to be in Edinburgh on private business, was one day loitering about the head of the Bow, when, by chance, Westerhall was seen ascending the steep and winding street, and at that moment some officious person said, "There is Braid Hugh Somerville of the Writes."

Westerhall, conceiving that his enemy was lingering there either in defiance, or to await him, drew his sword, and crying, "Turn, villain!" gave Somerville a gash behind the head, the most severe wound he had ever inflicted, and which, according to the "Memoirs of the Somervilles," was "much regrated estirwards by himself."

Writes, streaming with blood, instantly drew his sword, and ere Westerhall could repeat the stroke, put him sharply on his defence, and being the taller and stronger man of the two, together with the advantage given by the slope, he pressed him

sorely. Keeping on the defensive, Westerhall gave way step by step, seeking to gain the advantage of the ascent, and thus supply the defect of his stature, which Writes perceiving, he bore in close upon him hand to hand. Thus they continued in close and mortal combat for about a quarter of an hour, "clearing the causeway," so that none could venture near them, or leave the

conveyed to their lodgings. Their wounds were slight, save that which Writes had just received on his head, from which several pieces of bone came away. After he was cured, and after the death of Hugh Lord Somerville, Privy Councillor to James VI. (an event which occurred in 1597), these combatants were reconciled, and their feud committed to oblivion.



ASSEMBLY ROOMS, WEST BOW, LOOKING TOWARDS THE LAWNMARKET.

(From a Drawing by James Skene of Rubislaw).

shop doors; neither dared any man attempt to part them, for every thrust and stroke of their swords threatened all who came near.

Westerhall eventually was driven down, fighting every inch of the way to the foot of the Bow; and, having on—for riding, probably—a pair of long black boots drawn close up, was becoming quite weary, and stepping within a shop door, stood there on his defence; and then the last stroke given by Hugh Somerville nearly broke his good sword, as it struck the stone lintel of the door, where the mark remained for years after.

"The toun being by this tyme all in an uproar," they were separated by a party of halberdiers, and

Eleven years after this, in the month of June, 1605, William Thomson, a dagger-maker in the Bow, was slain by a neighbour of his own, named John Waterstone, who, being taken red hand, was next day beheaded on the Castle Hill. The Earl of Dunfermline was at that time Provost.

The arched gate at the foot of the first bend in the Bow is distinctly shown in Rothiemay's map (*see p. 112*). Within this and the old city wall, on the west side, was an ancient timber-fronted tenement, known as "Lord Ruthven's Land," being the residence of the gloomy and daring Patrick third Lord Ruthven, whose son was the first Earl of Gowrie—the same dark and terrible lord who rose

from his sick-bed (a few months after to be his death-bed, though he fled to Newcastle in the interim), and, donning his armour, drew back the arras of the Queen's chamber, looking like a pale spectre under his steel-barred helmet, on that fatal night in the March of 1566, when he planted his dagger into David Rizzio, whose death was mainly his contrivance; and in the demolition of this

which the blade was covered, such as *Vincere est mori*, *Fide sed cui fides*, and *Soli Deo Gloria*. The manner of its concealment, and the fierce character of the old Lord Ruthven, within whose ancient lodging it was discovered, may readily suggest to the fancy its having formed the instrument of some dark and bloody deed ere it was consigned to its strange hiding-place."



ASSEMBLY ROOMS, WEST BOW.

(From a Measured Drawing by T. Hamilton, published in 1830)

house a singular relic of him apparently was discovered. "Between the ceiling and floor in one of the apartments, a large and beautifully chased sword was found concealed, with the scabbard almost completely decayed, and the blade, which was of excellent temper, deeply corroded with rust half-way towards the hilt." Was this the corrosion of blood? "The point of it," says Daniel Wilson, "was broken off, but it still measured 32½ inches long. The maker's name, WILHELM WIRSBERG, was inlaid in brass upon the blade. His device, seemingly a pair of pincers, was engraved on both sides, surmounted by a coronet, and encircled on one side with a motto partly defaced, and on the other with his name repeated, and the words *in sol. ingens*. Various other mottoes were engraved amid the ornamental work with

He died at the close of 1566, or early in the following year; and a curious key, which was found in the demolition of his house, was procured by the Society of Antiquaries in 1848.

Up the West Bow for centuries did all that was regal, noble, and diplomatic, advance on entering the city; and down it, for 124 years—between the Restoration and 1784—went more criminals than can be reckoned, to their doom, and many a victim of misrule, such as the luckless and unflinching Covenanters, testifying to the last and glorying in their fate.

Down the Bow, on the 3rd of September, 1716, there were marched from the Castle, *en route* for trial at Carlisle, eighty-nine Jacobite prisoners. "The departing troop was followed by a wail of indignant lament from the national heart, the



Jacobites pointing to it with mingled howls and jeers, as a proof of the enslavement of Scotland."

Outside the archway of the Bow Port, and on the west side of the street, was the house of Archibald Stewart, Lord Provost of Edinburgh in the ever memorable year 1745. Its upper windows overlooked the Grassmarket, and it was as full of secret stairs, trap-doors, little wainscoted closets, and concealed recesses, as any haunted mansion in a nursery tale. In one apartment there stood a cabinet, or what appeared to be such, but which in reality was the entrance to a trap-stair. It is unknown whether Provost Stewart—whose Jacobite proclivities are well known, as they brought him before a court on charges of treason—contrived this means of retreat, or whether (which is more probable) it had been a portion of the original design of the house; but local tradition avers that he turned it to important use on one occasion.

It is said that during the occupation of Edinburgh by the Highland army in 1745 he gave a secret entertainment to Prince Charles and some of the chiefs of his army; and it was not conducted so secretly but that tidings of it reached the officer commanding in the adjacent Castle, which was then garrisoned chiefly by the 47th or Lascelles Regiment. A party of the latter was sent to seize the Prince if possible, and, to do so, came down the Bow from the street of the Castle Hill. Fortunately, their own appearance created an alarm, and before they gained admission the guests of the Provost had all disappeared by the secret stair.

Tradition has never varied in the relation of this story, but the real foundation of it is difficult of discovery. This house stood at the foot of Donaldson's Close, and Archibald Stewart was the third chief magistrate of Edinburgh who had inhabited it.

In subsequent years it came into possession of Alexander Donaldson, the well-known bookseller, whose litigation with the trade in London made much noise at one time, as he was in the habit of deliberately reprinting the most modern English works in Edinburgh, where, before his epoch, both printing and publishing were at the lowest ebb. Referring to the state of this branch of industry at the time he wrote (1779), Arnot says:—"Till within these forty years, the printing of newspapers and of school-books, of the fanatic effusions of Presbyterian clergymen, and the law-papers of the Court of Session, joined to the patent Bible printing, gave a scanty employment to four printing-houses. Such, however, has been the increase of this trade by the reprinting of English books, that there are now no fewer than twenty-seven printing-

offices in Edinburgh." In our own time there are about eighty.

From his printing-house in the Castle Hill, Alexander Donaldson issued the first number of his once-famous newspaper, *The Edinburgh Advertiser*, on the 3rd of January, 1764. It was a large quarto, and was also issued and sold from his shop, "near Norfolk Street in the Strand, London;" and his first number contains the following curious advertisement, among others:—

"Any young woman not under 15, nor much over 30 years of age, that is tolerably handsome, and would incline to give her hand to a Black Prince, upon directing a letter to F. Y., care of the Publisher, will be informed particularly as to this matrimonial scheme, which they may be assured is a good one in every respect, the colour of the husband only excepted. If desired, secrecy may be depended on."

For a long course of years this journal, prominent as a Conservative organ, proved a most lucrative speculation; and as all his other undertakings prospered, he left, together with his old house in the Bow, a rich inheritance to his son, the late Mr. James Donaldson, who eventually realised a large fortune, the mass of which (about £240,000) at his death, in 1840, he bequeathed to found the magnificent hospital which bears his name at the west end of the city.

Six years before his death the old house in the Bow, where he and his father had resided for so many years, and wherein they had entertained most of the literati of their time, was burned to the ground.

Lower down than the house of the Donaldsons was an ancient edifice, with a timber front of picturesque aspect, in former times the town mansion of the Napiers of Wrightshouse—a family which passed away about the close of the 17th century, but was of some importance in its time.

Alexander Napier of Wrightshouse appears as one of an inquest in 1488. His coat armorial was a bend, charged with a crescent between two mullets. He married Margaret Napier of Merchiston, whose father, Sir Alexander, was slain at Flodden, and whose brother (his heir) was slain at Pinkie. In 1581, among the names of the Commissioners appointed by James VI., "anent the cuinze," that of William Napier of the Wrightshouse appears; and in 1590 his sister Barbara Napier was accused of witchcraft on the 8th of May, and of being present at the great meeting of Scottish witches held by the devil in North Berwick.

The wife of Archibald Douglas (brother of the Laird of Carshoggil), her trial was one of great

length, involving that of many others; but a portion of the charges against her will suffice as a sample of the whole, from "Pitcairn's Trials."

"Satan had informed the witches that James VI. of Scotland was the greatest enemy he had, and the latter's visit to Norway, to bring over his queen, seemed to afford an opportunity for his destruction. Accordingly, Dr. Fiar of Tranent, the devil's secretary, summoned a great gathering of witches on Hallow Eve, when 200 of them embarked, each in a riddle or sieve, with much mirth and jollity; and after cruising about somewhere on the ocean with Satan, who rolled himself before them on the waves, dimly seen, but resembling a huge haystack in size and aspect, he delivered to one of the company, named Robert Grierson, a cat, which had been drawn previously nine times through a crook, giving the order to 'cast the same into the sea.'"

This remarkable charm was intended to raise such a furious tempest as would infallibly drown the king and queen, then on their homeward voyage from Christiania, which, if any credit may be given to the declaration of James (who greedily swallowed the story), was not without some effect, as the ship which conveyed him encountered a furious contrary wind, while all the rest of the fleet had a fair one and a smooth sea.

On this, Barbara Napier and her infernal companions, after regaling themselves with wine out of their sieves, landed, and proceeded in procession to North Berwick Kirk, where the devil awaited them in the pulpit, singing as they went—

"Cummer go ye before, cummer go ye;  
Gif ye winna gang before, cummer let me."

Sir James Melville gives us a most distinct account of the devil's appearance on this auspicious occasion. His body was like iron; "his faice was terrible; his nose like the bek of an egle;" he had claws like those of a griffin on his hands and feet. He then called the roll to see that all were present, and all did him homage in a manner equally humiliating and indecorous, which does not admit of description here.

All this absurdity being proved against Barbara Napier, she was sentenced, with many others, on the 11th of May, 1590, to be burnt "at a stake sett on the Castle Hill, with barrells, coales, heather, and powder;" but when the torch was about to be applied, pregnancy was alleged, according to "Calderwood's Historie," as a just and sufficient cause for staying proceedings; the execution was delayed, and ultimately the unfortunate creature was set at liberty by order of James VI. Now

nothing remains of these Napiers but their tomb and burial-place on the north side of the choir of St. Giles's.

In the basement of the house which was once theirs was the booth from which the rioters, on the night of the 7th September, 1736, obtained the rope with which they hanged Porteous. It was then rented by a woman named Jeffrey, a dealer in miscellaneous wares, who offered them the rope gratis when she learned for what purpose it was required, but one of the conspirators threw a guinea on the counter as payment. The house of the Napiers was demolished in 1833.

Opposite the mansion of Provost Stewart, and also outside the Bow Port, but on the cast side of the bend, was a tenement known as "the Clock-maker's Land," which was demolished in 1835, to make way for what is now Victoria Street, but which took its name from an eminent watchmaker, a native of France, named Paul Romieu, who is said to have occupied it from the time of Charles II. (about 1675) till the beginning of the eighteenth century. In front of the house there remained, until its demolition, one of the wonders of the Bow—a curious piece of mechanism, which formed the sign of the ingenious Paul Romieu. It projected over the street from the third storey—a gilded ball representing the moon, which was made to revolve by means of clockwork. A large iron key of antique form, which was found among the ruins of this house, is preserved in the Museum of Antiquities.

Among the oldest edifices in this part of the street was one which bore the singular name of the "Mahogany Land," having an outer stair protected by a screen of wood. There was no date to record its erection, but its ceilings were curiously adorned by paintings precisely similar to those which were found in the palace of Mary of Guise in the Castle Hill; and no record remained of its generations of inmates, save that, like others about to be mentioned, it bore the iron cross of the Temple, and also the legend—which, from being a simply moral apophthegm, and not Biblical, was supposed to be anterior to the Reformation—*He . yf . tholis . overcommis*. (i.e., "He that bears overcomes.") There was also a half-obliterated shield.

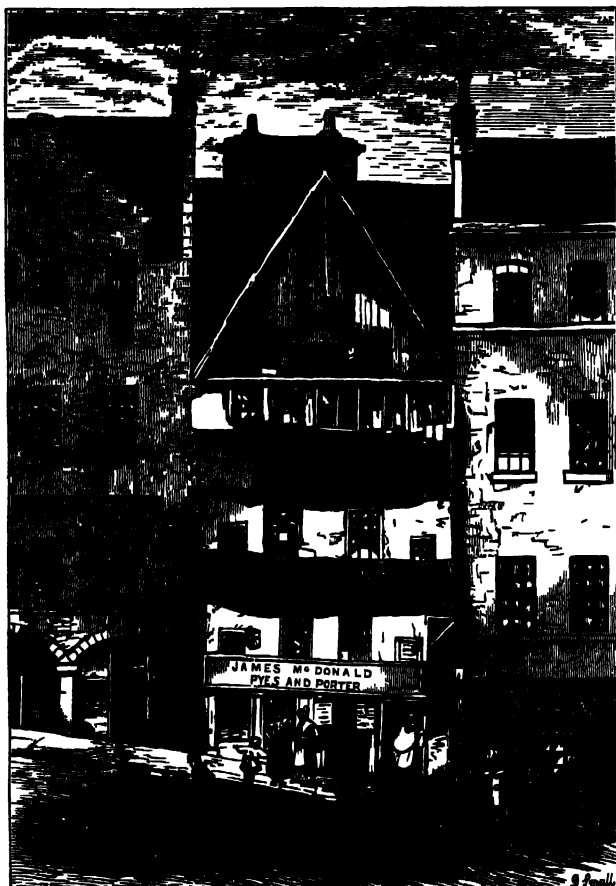
For ages the Bow was famous as the chief place for whitesmiths, and till about the time of its demolition there was scarcely a shop in it occupied by any other tradesmen, and even on Sunday the ceaseless clatter of their hammers on all hands rang from morning till night.

Behind the Mahogany Land "lay several steep, narrow, and gloomy closes, containing the most

singular groups of huge, irregular, and diversified tenements that could well be conceived. Here a stunted little timber dwelling black with age, and beyond it a pile of masonry, rising, storey above storey, from some murky propound that left its chimneys, scarcely rivalling those of its dwarfish

case of his is thus reported by Lord Fountainhall, under date July 6th, 1709 :—

“ Duncan Campbell, of Ashfield, giving himself out to be the best lithotomist and cutter for the stone, pursues Mungo Campbell, of Netherplace, that he being under the insupportable agony of the



MAHOGANY LAND

(From a Measured Drawing by T. Hamilton, published in 1830.)

neighbours, after climbing thus far from their foundations in the depths below.”

The *Edinburgh Gazette* for July, 1702, informed the public that Duncan Campbell, of Ashfield, chirurgeon to the city of Glasgow, was receiving patients in his lodging at the foot of the West Bow, and that he was great in operations for stone, having “cutted nine score persons without the death of any, except five”, and one astounding

gravel, and was kept down in his bed by two servants, sent for the said Duncan to cure him, who leaving the great employment he had, waited on him for several weeks, and by an emaciating diet, fitted him for the operation, then cut him and brought away a big stone of five ounces' weight, and since that time he has enjoyed better health, for which extraordinary cure all he got in hand was seventeen guineas; whereas, by his attendance

and diversion from other patients, and his *lucrum assans*, he has lost more than £50 sterling, and craves that sum as his fee and the recompense of his damage."

But as it was represented for the Laird of Netherplace, that he had done his work unskilfully, and caused much agony to the patient, the Lords held that the sum of seven-teen guineas was sufficient payment.

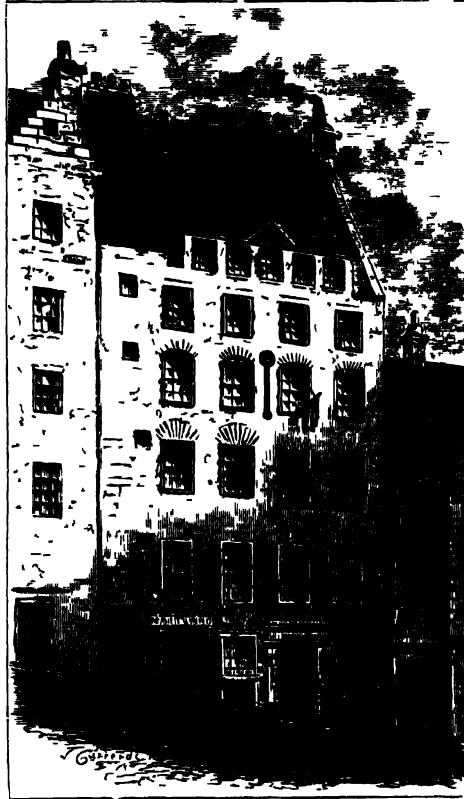
At the foot of the Bow, and on the west side chiefly, were a few old tenements, that, in consequence of being built upon ground which had originally belonged to the Knights of the Temple, were styled Templar Lands, and were distinguished by having iron crosses on their fronts and gables. In the "Heart of Midlothian," Scott describes them as being of uncommon height and antique appearance; but of late years they have all disappeared.

It was during the Grand Mastership of Everhard de Bar, and while that brave warrior, with only 130 knights of the order, was fighting under the banner of Louis VII. at Damascus, that the Grand Priory of Scotland was instituted, and the knight who presided over it was then styled *Magister Domus Templi in Scotia*, when lands were bestowed on the order, first by King David I., and then by many others. To all the property belonging to the Temple a great value was attached, from the circumstance that it afforded, until the extinction of heritable jurisdictions in 1747, the benefit of sanctuary; thus the Temple tenements in Fifeshire are still termed houses of refuge.

In the city the order possessed several flat-roofed tenements, known as the Temple Lands, and one archway, numbered as 145, on the south side of the Grassmarket, led to what was called the Temple Close, but they have all been removed. It was a lofty pile, and is mentioned in a charter of Lord Bynning, dated 1623, as "the fore-and-back

Tempillands, lyand next ye Grav Friars' Yard;" and in 1598, "a temple tenement lyand near the Gray Friars' Yett" was confirmed to James Kent (Torphichen Charters). On these the iron cross was visible in 1824.

On the dissolution of the order all this property in Scotland was bestowed upon their rivals, the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and the houses referred to became eventually a part of the barony of Drem (of old a Temple Priory) in Haddington shire, the baron of which used to hold courts in them occasionally, and here, till 1747, were harboured persons not free of the city corporations, to the great annoyance of the adherents of local monopoly; but so lately as 1731, on the 24th of August, the Temple vassals



ROMIEU'S HOUSE.

(From a Measured Drawing by T. Hamilton, published in 1830)

were ordered by the Bailie of Lord Torphichen, to erect the cross of St. John "on the Temple-lands within Burgh, amerciating [fining] such as did not affix the said cross." This was a strange enactment in a country where it is still doubtful whether such an emblem can figure as an ornament upon a tomb or church. Clearly there must have been some disinclination to affix the crosses, otherwise the regulation would scarcely have been passed.

## CHAPTER XL.

## EDINBURGH IN 1745.

*Provost Stewart—Advance of the Jacobite Clans—Preparations for Defence—Capture of the City—Lochiel's Surprise—Entrance of Prince Charles—Arrival at Holyrood—James VIII. Proclaimed at the Cross—Conduct of the Highland Troops in the City—Colquhoun Grant—A Triumphant Procession—Guest's Council of War—Preston's Fidelity.*

WE have referred to the alleged narrow escape of Prince Charles Edward in the house of Provost Stewart in the West Bow. Had he actually been captured there, it is difficult to tell, and indeed useless to surmise, what the history of the next few years would have been. The Castle would probably have been stormed by his troops, and we might never have heard of the march into England, the fields of Falkirk or Culloden. One of the most singular trials consequent upon the rising of 1745 was that of Provost Stewart for "neglect of duty, misbehaviour in public office, and violation of trust and duty."

From his house in the Bow he had to proceed to London in November, 1745. Immediately upon his arrival he sent notice of it to the Secretary of State, and underwent a long and vexatious trial before a Cabinet Council. He was taken into custody, but was liberated upon the 23rd of January, 1746, on bail to the extent of £15,000, to appear, as a traitor, before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh.

Whether it was that Government thought he was really culpable in not holding out the extensive and mouldering walls of Edinburgh against troops already flushed with success, and in opposition to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants, or whether they meant only to intimidate the disaffected, we shall not determine, says Arnot. Provost Stewart was brought to trial, and the court "found it relevant to infer the pains of law, that the panel, at the time and place libelled, being then Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh, wilfully neglected to pursue, or wilfully opposed, or obstructed when opposed by others, such measures as were necessary for the defence of the city against the rebels in the instances libelled, or so much of them as do amount to such wilful neglect."

After a trial, which occupies 200 pages of an octavo volume (printed for Crawford in the Parliament Close, 1747), on the 2nd of November, the jury, the half of whom were country gentlemen, returned a verdict, unanimously finding Provost Stewart not guilty; but he would seem to have left the city soon after. He settled in London, where he became an eminent merchant, and died at Bath, in 1780, in the eighty-third year of his age.

No epoch of the past has left so vivid an impression on the Scottish mind as the year 1745;

history and tradition, poetry and music, prove this from the days of the Revolution down to those of Burns, Scott, and others; for the whole land became filled with melodies for the lost cause and fallen race; while it is a curious fact, that not one song or air can be found in favour of the victors.

Considerable discontent preceded the advent of the Highlanders in Edinburgh, which then had a population of only about 40,000 inhabitants. Kincaid tells us that there was an insurrection there in 1741 in consequence of the high price of food; and another in 1742, in consequence of a number of dead bodies having been raised. The former of these was not quelled without bloodshed, and in the latter the houses of many suspected persons were burned to the ground; and that imaginary tribulation might not be wanting, we learn from the autobiography of Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, that people now began to recall a prophecy of Peden the pedlar, that the Clyde should run with blood in 1744.

A letter from the Secretary of State to the Town Council had made that body aware, so early as the spring of 1744, that it was the intention of Prince Charles to raise an insurrection in the Highlands, and they hastened to assure the king of their loyalty and devotion, to evince which they prepared at once for the defence of the city, by augmenting its Guard to 126 men, and mustering the trained bands. After landing in the wilds of Moidart, with only seven men, and unfurling his standard in Glenfinnan, on the 19th of August, 1745, Charles Edward soon found himself at the head of 1,200 followers, whose success in a few petty encounters roused the ardour and emulation of the Macdonalds, McLeans, and other warlike septs, who rose in arms, to peril life and fortune for the last of the old royal race.

The news of his landing reached Edinburgh on the 8th of August, and it was quickly followed by tidings of the muster in Glenfinnan, and the capture of a company of the 1st Royal Scots, at the Spean Bridge, by Major Macdonald of Teindreich. Early in July 5,000 stand of arms had been placed in the Castle, which Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope ordered to be provisioned, while he reinforced its ordinary garrison by two companies of the 47th regiment; and the Lieutenant-Governor, Lieutenant-General Preston, of Valleyfield (who had been

appointed thereto in 1716), mustered the out-pensioners of Chelsea, and officered them, locally, from the half-pay list.

Doubtful of the faith of Preston, as a Scotsman, the Government superseded him in command, and sent in his place Lieutenant-General Joshua Guest, an Englishman, who proved a staunch Jacobite, and on the approach of the Highlanders he was the first to propose a capitulation, a measure vigorously opposed by Preston, a resolute Whig of the old King William school, who thereupon undertook the defence, with a garrison which consisted only of the old Castle company, the two companies of the 47th, each mustering about seventy bayonets, under Major Robertson, the Chelsea Pensioners, and Lieutenant Brydone's artillery company, which had landed at Leith on the 4th of September, and marched in with a great quantity of the munitions of war.

The other troops in Scotland at this time consisted only of the 13th and 14th Light Dragoons at Edinburgh, the company of the Royals captured at Spean Bridge, the 6th Foot at Aberdeen, two companies of the 21st Scots Fusiliers at Glasgow, the 25th Edinburgh regiment in Fifeshire, two companies of the 42nd at Crieff, five of the 44th in the West, and another five at Berwick, the 46th (known as "Murray's Bucks") scattered over the Highlands, Loudon's Highlanders (disbanded in 1749) stationed in the north; in all not quite 4,000 men; but, collecting these, Sir John Cope prepared to bar the Prince's way into the Lowlands.

Quitting Perth at the head of little more than 2,000 men,\* only the half of whom had arms, the latter, on the 11th September, resumed his adventurous march southward, and crossing the Forth by the perilous fords of Frew, to avoid the guns of Stirling, he held on his way by the Scottish Marathon, by the Torwood and Linlithgow, traversing scenes that he, the heir of the ancient regal line, could not have beheld without emotion, engaged, as he was, on an enterprise more daring and more desperate than had ever been undertaken by any of his ancestors since Bruce fought the battle of Bannockburn.

On the 17th he was at Corstorphine, less than

four miles distant from the capital, and to avoid exposing his troops to the Castle guns in advancing, he wheeled southward towards Slateford, and fixed his quarters at Gray's Mill, two miles from the city.

Great was now the excitement within the walls. The militia, called the trained bands, consisted of sixteen companies, or 1,000 men, entirely undisciplined, and many of them entirely disloyal to the Hanoverian cause. In their own armoury the citizens had 1,250 muskets and 200 bayonets, 300 sets of accoutrements, a considerable quantity of ammunition, with seventy-five stand of arms and Lochaber axes belonging to the City Guard. On Sunday, 16th September, Hislop, keeper of this arsenal, issued 500 rounds of ball ammunition and sixty firelocks to each company of the trained bands, thirty-nine firelocks to the additional company of the City Guard, and twenty-four to the company of the Canongate-head, 500 rounds of ball to the Seceders, whose muster-place was the Infirmary, and 450 lbs. of powder for the cannon on the walls. All the rest he sent to the Castle. The banner borne by the Seceders is now in the Museum of Antiquities, and was once used at Bothwell Brig. It is blue, with a white St. Andrew's saltire, charged with five roses, and the motto, *Covenants, Religion, King, and Kingdoms*.

Towards the end of the preceding month the more zealous citizens had proposed to raise a regiment 1,000 strong for the defence of the town; but the royal permission therefor was not accorded till the 9th of September, and by the time that the Prince drew near only 200 men had been enrolled, all of the most dissolute character, and tempted by the proffered pay alone. In addition to these was the regiment of Edinburgh Volunteers, 400 strong, divided into six companies, and drilled regularly twice daily. Cannon from the ships at Leith were mounted on the walls together with swivels or pateraroes (*i.e.*, small cannon). The ports were barricaded; there was much military bluster, with much singing of psalms; but as the Highlanders drew nearer all this show of valour died away.

When the Prince's vanguard was at Kirkliston, it was proposed by General Guest that the two Light Dragoon regiments, supported by the City Guard, the so-called Edinburgh Regiment, and 250 volunteers, should march out and give battle to the insurgents!

The signal was given; on the forenoon of Sunday the 15th of September the clang of the alarm bells came during sermon, and the people rushed forth from the churches to find the detailed force drawn up under arms in the High Street; but the

\* A true account of the strength of the Highland army, 17th August, 1745

Lochiel ... ..	700
Clanronald, having men of his Islands ... ..	250
The Stewarts of Appin under Ardsheil ... ..	250
Keppoch ... ..	200
Glenagarry's men, including Knoydart, Glencoe, and the Grants of Glenmorriston ... ..	600
	2,050

(“Culloden Papers.”)

“The Highlanders were not more than 1,800, and the half of them only were armed.” (“Autobiography of Dr. Carlyle of Inverack.”)

summons (said Sir Walter Scott, in the *Quarterly Review*,) instead of rousing the hearts of the volunteers, like the sound of a trumpet, rather reminded them of a passing knell. Most pitiful was the bearing of the volunteers, according to Dr. Carlyle of Inveresk, who was one of them on this occasion. "The ladies in the windows treated us very variously; many with lamentation, and even with tears, and some with scorn and derision. In one house on the south side of the street there was a row of windows full of ladies, who appeared to enjoy our march to danger with much mirth and levity." He adds that these civic warriors were about to fire on these ladies; but they pulled their windows down.

Summoned from Leith, the 14th Dragoons came spurring up the street, huzza-ing and clashing their swords in silly bravado, the volunteers began their march, with wives and children clinging to them, imploring them not to risk their lives against wild Highland savages; but resolutely enough their commander ex-Provost Drummond led the way, till the most ludicrous cowardice was exhibited by all. "In descending the famous West Bow, they disappeared by scores under doorways or down wynds, till, when their commander halted at the West Port and looked behind him, he found, to his surprise and mortification, that nearly the whole of his valiant followers had disappeared, and that only a few of his personal friends remained. The author of a contemporary pamphlet—alleged to be David Hume—afterwards compared their march to the course of the Rhine, which at one place is a majestic river, rolling its waves through fertile fields, but being continually drawn off by little canals, dwindles into a small streamlet, and is almost lost in the sands before reaching the ocean." It was said that the volunteers rushed about in the sorest tribulation, bribing with sixpences every soldier they met to take their arms to the Castle.

The preposterous idea of meeting the Highlanders in the open field was abandoned; the remains of the force were led to the College yards and dismissed for the evening; but the City Guard, the men of the Edinburgh Regiment, and the cavalry, went out to reconnoitre as far as Corstorphine. Seeing nothing of the enemy, the famous and pious Colonel Gardiner of the 13th Dragoons, who commanded the whole, halted in the fields between Edinburgh and Leith, leaving a small party to watch the west road, while fresh volunteers came into the city from Musselburgh and Dalkeith. That night Brigadier Fowkes arrived from London to assume the command, and he at once led the cavalry towards Coltbridge, which spans the Leith, about two miles distant from the then city.

Here a few Highland gentlemen, forming the Prince's van, fired their pistols, on which a dreadful panic at once seized the 13th and 14th Dragoons, who went "threes about," and, laden with all the property they could



OLD HOUSES, WEST BOW.

(From a Measured Drawing by J. Hamilton, published in 1830.)

"loot" from Corstorphine and Bell's Mills, were seen from the Castle and the city, flying in wild disorder eastward by the Lang Gate. At Leith they halted for a few minutes till a cry was raised, in mockery, that the Highlanders were at hand, when again they resumed their flight as far as Preston Pans. Then a cry from one of their comrades, who fell into a disused coalpit, filled these cravens with such ungovernable terror, that they fled to North Berwick. The road by which they galloped was strewn, according to Dr. Carlyle, with their swords, pistols, carbines, and skull-caps, which the mortified Colonel Gardiner, who had passed the night at his own house at Bankton, caused to be gleaned up and sent in covered carts to Dunbar.

General Guest sent a detachment into the city to spike the cannon, which in his heart he had no wish should be used against the Prince, to save them for whom the Provost declined all

permission that they should either be touched or removed; thus eventually the whole, with 1,200 stand of arms, became the prize of the Highlanders. Meanwhile the whole of the volunteers, "riff raff," as the General stigmatised them, vanished. The Dalkeith men stole ladders, scaled the walls, and fled in the night, and the Seceders, who were the last to abandon their colours, eventually followed them. Then all hope of defending the city was

"But to wanton me, to wanton me,  
O ban ye what maist would wanton me?—  
To see King James at Edinburgh Cross,  
With fifty thousand foot and horse,  
And the vile usurper forced to flee,  
Oh, this is what maist would wanton me!"

Certain commissioners were sent to Gray's Mill to treat with the Highland chiefs for the deliverance of the keys of the city on the best terms, but



PROVOST STEWART'S LAND, WEST BOW  
(from a *Measured Drawing*, by J. Hamilton, published 1780)

abandoned, but still the gates were kept closed and guarded. The Whigs were utterly depressed, while the Jacobites were in a state of elation which they were at no pains to conceal, and from the ladies at their spinets, and the gallants in the street, was heard that song which Dr Charles Mackay tells us was the most popular or fashionable one in the city during 1745-6, and of which two verses will suffice

"To daunt me, and me sae young,  
And gude King James's eldest son!  
Oh that's the thing that never can be,  
For the man's unborn that'll daunt me!  
Oh, set me ance on Scottish land,  
With my gude broadsword in my hand,  
And the bonnet blue aboon my bree,  
Then show me the man that'll daunt me!"

of what passed at that conference little is known, save that at ten at night they returned with a letter from Charles, demanding a peaceable admittance into his father's capital, but, aware that prompt measures were necessary, as Cope's army in a fleet of transports was already at Dunbar, he detailed a detachment of 900 men under Lochiel, Ardsheil, and Keppoch, to advance upon the city, carrying with them powder to blow in one of the gates.

Crossing the Burghmuir by moonlight, they reached the vicinity of the Nether Bow Port, by entering under the archway near St. John's Street, and the narrative of Provost Stewart's trial records what followed then. The sentry at the gate stopped a hackney coach that approached it from the inside



—the identical vehicle in which the deputies had returned from Gray's Mill, and the driver of which wanted to pass out at that critical juncture. "Open the port," he cried, "for I behev to get out." "You cannot," replied the sentinel, "without an order from Provost Stewart." "Let the coach out instantly," said James Gillespie, under-keeper of the gate, "for I have an order to that effect." "Oh, sir, 'tis very well; you have the keys of the port and must answer for it," replied the soldier, as he pulled back the ponderous gate in the arch between its two massive towers.

At that moment a Highlander sprang in and wrested his musket from him; it was the chief of Lochiel; and immediately the whole clan Cameron advanced up the street, with swords drawn and colours flying, their pipes playing

"We'll awa to Shirramuir,  
And haud the Whigs in order."

Other noise there was none, and no bloodshed; not an armed man was to be seen on the streets, to the astonishment of the Highlanders, who saw only the people in their night-dresses, at the windows, by the light of the early dawn.

They seized the Guard-house, disarmed the Guard, captured the cannon and arsenal, placed pickets at the eight principal gates with the utmost order and regularity, while the magistrates retired to their houses, aware that their authority was ended.

Generals Guest and Preston hoisted the royal standard on the Castle, and fired a few cannon to warn all to keep from its vicinity, and, meanwhile, after two hours' sleep, Charles prepared to take possession of the palace of his forefathers. Making a tour to the south, to avoid the fire of the Castle till he reached Braidsburn, he turned towards the city as far as the Hare Stone, a mass of granite on the turnpike road near Morningside—the old banner stone of the Burghmuir. He then wheeled to the east by the beech-shaded Grange Loan (now bordered by villas, sequestered and grassy then), which leads by the old house of the Grange to the Causewayside.

Near Priestfield he entered the royal parks by a breach that had been made in the wall, and traversed the Hunter's Bog, that had echoed so often to the bugles of his ancestors. Leaving his troops to take up their camp, about noon he rode—with what emotions we may imagine—towards old Holyrood, of a thousand stirring memories, attended by the Duke of Perth and Lord Escho, with a train of gentlemen and the veterans of his Highland guard—veterans of Sheriffmuir and Glen-

shiel—eighty in number, at the very time that Sir John Cope's armament was disembarking at Dunbar.

"On reaching the eminence below St. Anthony's chapel and well, when for the first time he came in sight of the old palace, he alighted from his horse, and paused to survey the beautiful scene. Then descending to the Duke's Walk (so called because it had been a favourite resort of his grandfather, to whose flagrant misgovernment he owed his exile) he halted for a few minutes to show himself to the people, who now flocked around him in great numbers with mingled feelings of curiosity and admiration. Loud huzzas came from the crowd, and many of the enthusiastic Jacobites knelt down and kissed his hand. He then mounted his horse—a fine bay gelding, presented to him by the Duke of Perth—and rode slowly towards the palace. On arriving in front of Holyrood he alighted, and was about to enter the royal dwelling, when a cannon ball fired from the Castle struck the front of James V.'s tower, and brought down a quantity of rubbish into the court-yard. No injury was done, however, by this gratuitous act of annoyance, and the Prince, passing in at the outer gate, and proceeding along the piazza, and the quadrangle, was about to enter the porch of what are called the Duke of Hamilton's apartments, when James Hepburn of Keith, who had taken part in the rising of 1715, 'a model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour,' stepped from the crowd, bent his knee in token of homage, and then drawing his sword, raised it aloft, and marshalled the way before Charles up-stairs."

On this day Charles wore a short tartan coat, with the star of St. Andrew, a blue velvet bonnet, and white cockade, a blue ribbon over his shoulder, scarlet breeches, and military boots. Tall, handsome, fair, and noble in aspect, he excited the admiration of all those fearless Jacobites, the ladies especially. "All were charmed with his appearance," says Home; "they compared him to Robert Bruce, whom he resembled, they said, in his figure and fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes; they acknowledged that he was a goodly person, but observed that even in that triumphant hour, when about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy; that he looked like a gentleman and man of fashion, but not like a hero or conqueror." He adds, however, that he was greeted with acclaim by the peasantry, who, whenever he went abroad, sought to kiss his hands, and even to touch his cloths.

At one o'clock on the same day a body of the Cameron clansmen was drawn up around the

venerable Market Cross, with the heralds, pursuivants, and the magistrates (many most unwillingly) in their robes, while Mr. David Beath proclaimed "James VIII., King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland," in the usual old form, and read the Commission of Regency, dated 1743, with the manifesto of the Prince, dated at Paris, May 16th, 1745. A number of ladies on horseback, with swords drawn, acted as a guard of honour. "A great multitude of sympathising spectators was present at the ceremony, and testified their satisfaction by cordial cheers. In the evening the long-deserted apartments of Holyrood were enlivened by a ball, at which the Jacobite ladies were charmed with the elegant manners and vivacity of the youthful aspirant to the throne."

But few took up arms in his cause. On the following day Lord Nairne came in with the Athol Highlanders; old Lord Kellie came in with only an aged serving man; the Grants of Glenmorriston, 250 strong, marched in on the morning of the 20th, but the main body of the clan stood aloof, though Lord Balmerino and many other noble and disinherited gentlemen (who came almost unattended) joined the standard.

The Highlanders remained within their camp, or when in the city behaved themselves with the utmost order and decorum; no outrages occurred, and no brawls of any kind ensued; meanwhile, the garrison remained close within the Castle, and till after the battle of Preston Pans, no collision took place between them and the troops.

Their quiet, orderly, and admirable conduct formed a marked difference between them and most of the merciless ruffians, who, under Hawley, Huske, and Cumberland, disgraced the British uniform; for the little army of Charles Edward was as orderly as it was brave, and organised in a fashion of its own—the discipline of the modern system being added easily to the principle of clan-ship, and the whole—then only 3,000—were now completely equipped with the arms found in the city. The pay of a captain was 2s. 6d. daily; of a lieutenant, 2s.; ensign, 1s. 6d.; of a private, 6d. In the clan regiments every company had a double set of officers. The *Leine chrìos* (shirt of mail) or chosen men, were in the centre of each battalion, to defend the chief and colours. The front rank, when in line, consisted of the best blood of the clan and the best armed—particularly those who had targets. All these received 1s. daily while the Prince's money lasted."

The battle of Preston Pans is apart from the history of Edinburgh; but there, on the 20th Sep-

tember, the Highlanders, suffering under innumerable disadvantages, gained a signal victory, in a few minutes, over a well-disciplined and veteran army, sweeping it from the field in irretrievable confusion. The cavalry escaped by the speed of their horses, but all the infantry were killed or taken, with their colours, cannon, baggage, drums, and military chest containing £6,000. Charles, who, the night before the victory, slept in a little house still shown at Duddingston, bore his conquest with great moderation and modesty, even proposing to put the wounded—among whom was the Master of Torphichen, suffering from twenty sword wounds, of which he died—in Holyrood, but the Royal Infirmary was preferred, as the palace was required for the purposes of royalty.

On the 21st, preceded by 100 pipers playing "The king shall enjoy his own again," the prisoners, to the number of 1,500, of whom 80 were officers, were marched through Edinburgh (prior to their committal to Logierait and the Castle of Doune), together with the baggage train, which had been taken by the Camerons, and the colours of the 13th and 14th Light Dragoons, the 6th, 44th, 46th, 47th, and Loudon's Corps. The Prince had the good taste not to accompany this triumphal procession. The officers were for a time placed in Queensberry House in the Canongate.

Curiously enough, Sir John Cope's cannon were all captured on a tramway, or line of wooden rails, the first of the kind known in Europe, and belonging to some coal-pits in the vicinity of the field.

The pusillanimity of the regulars was very singular, but none more so than that of a party of light dragoons commanded by Major Caulfield, who fled from the field to the Castle of Edinburgh, a distance of ten miles, permitting themselves to be pursued by a single horseman, Colquhoun Grant of Burnside—a little property near Castle Grant—who, in the battle, at the head of twenty-eight Highlanders, captured two pieces of cannon. He pursued the fugitives to the very gates of the Castle, which received them, and were closed at his approach. After this he leisurely rode down the street, and, after being measured for a tartan suit in the Luckenbooths, left the city by the Nether Bow—his resolute aspect, "bloddy sword, and blood-stained habiliments" striking terror into all who thought of opposing him. Grant was selected as one of the Prince's Life Guards, under Lord Eltho. The dress of these Guards was blue faced with red, and scarlet waistcoats laced with gold; the horse-furniture the same. He lived long after these events as a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, where he died in 1792. He resided in Gavinloch's

Land, according to P. Williamson's Directory for 1784.

Amid the tumultuous excitement of the Highlanders entering the city with their trophies, they repeatedly fired their muskets in the air. One being loaded with ball, the latter grazed the forehead of Miss Nairne, a young Jacobite lady, who was waving her handkerchief from a balcony in the High Street. "Thank God!" exclaimed the fair enthusiast, as soon as she was able to speak,

the Weigh-house, where the Highland picket—at whom was fired the 32 lb. cannon ball still shown, and referred to in an early chapter—occupied the residence of a fugitive, the Rev. George Logan, a popular preacher, famous controversialist, and author of several learned treatises.

The noise made by the Highlanders in the city, the din of so many pipes in the lofty streets, and the acclamations of the Jacobites, had such an effect upon the wavering mind of General Guest,



THE CASTLE ROAD. (From a Drawing by James Drummond R.S.A.)

"that this accident has happened to me, whose true principles are known. Had it befallen a Whig, they would have said it was done on purpose."\*

This victory annihilated the only regular army in the kingdom, and made Charles master of it all, with the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and a few petty Highland forts. It caused the greatest panic in London, and a serious run upon the Bank of England.

The fugitives who reached the Castle numbered 105. To close it up, guards were now placed at all the avenues. The strongest of these was near

that he called a council of war, at which he urged upon the officers, "that as the fortress was indefensible, with a garrison so weak, terms for capitulating to the Scottish prince should at once be entered into"

To this proposal every officer present assented, and it would have been adopted, had not General Preston, the man whom the authorities had just superseded, demanded to be heard. Stern, grim, and tottering under wounds won in King William's wars, and inspired by genuine hatred of the House of Stuart, he declared that if such a measure was adopted he would resign his commission as a disgrace to him. On this, Guest handed over to him the command of the fortress,

\* Note to chap LI., "Waverley."



CHARLES EDWARD IN HIS YOUTH  
(From the portrait by Torque)

to defend which he instantly adopted the most vigorous measures. He wrote to the Secretary of State, acquainting him that if not soon relieved he would be compelled to surrender, as his stock of provisions was so small. His letter fell into the hands of the Prince, by whom the Castle was never formally summoned. Preston had now been

seventy years in the service. He was in his eighty seventh year, and was so enfeebled by time and wounds as to be unable to walk, yet so constant was his vigilance, that every two hours he was wheeled round the posts to see that his sentinels were on the alert, and whenever a Highlander could be seen, a gun loaded with grape was fired at him.

## CHAPTER XII

### EDINBURGH IN 1745 (*concluded*)

General Guest's "Bravery — Popularity of the Prince — Castle Blockaded — Its Fires on the City — Leith Bombarded — End of the Blockade — Departure of the Highland Army for Flanders — Prisoners in the Castle — Macdonald of Teindreich — Duke of Cumberland in Edinburgh — Burning of the Standards

GENERAL JOSHUA GUEST took no active part in the operations subsequent to his council of war, though the inscription on his tomb in Westminster

eulogises the bravery of his defence of the Castle, when "besieged by the rebels"

The officers of state had now fled from Edinburgh

to England or the remote districts of Scotland. The old Chevalier was proclaimed as James VIII., in all large towns where, and particularly in the capital, the concealed friends of his cause avowed their sentiments, and joined the old Jacobites in drinking deep potations to a prince, who, as his organ the *Caledonian Mercury*, had it, "could eat a dry crust, sleep on pease straw, take his dinner in four minutes, and win a battle in five." The ladies especially, by their enthusiasm, contributed not a little to produce great action in his favour. "All Jacobites," wrote President Forbes at this time, to Sir Andrew Mitchell, "how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory. And what was more grievous to men of gallantry—and, if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public—all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most temperate manner."

Meanwhile the garrison in the Castle obtained from certain Whig friends a supply of provisions, which, by ropes, they drew up in barrels and baskets, on the west side of the rock; but neither the Highlanders nor the citizens suffered any molestation till the night of the 25th September, when the veteran Preston, on going his rounds in a wheel-chair, being alarmed by a sound like that of goats scrambling among the rocks, he declared it to be a Highland escalade, and opened a fire of musketry and cannon from Drury's battery, beating down several houses in the West Port.

In consequence of this the prince strengthened his picket at the Weigh-house, to prevent all intercourse with the fortress, upon which Preston wrote to Provost Stewart, intimating that unless free communication was permitted he would open a heavy cannonade. On this, the town council represented to the prince the danger in which the city stood. "Gentlemen," he replied, "I am equally concerned and surprised at the barbarity of those who would bring distress upon the city for what its inhabitants have not the power to prevent; but if, out of compassion, I should remove my guards from the Castle, you might with equal reason require me to abandon the city."

He also assured them that the injuries of the citizens would be repaid out of the estates of the officers in the Castle, "and that reprisals would be made upon all who were known abettors of the German government." General Preston being further informed that his brother's house at Valleyfield would be destroyed, he replied that in that

case he would cause the war-ships in the Forth to burn down Wemyss Castle, the seat of Lord Elcho's father; but after some altercation with the council, the grim veteran agreed to suspend hostilities till he received fresh orders from London. Next day, however, owing to some misunderstanding, the Highland picket fired on certain persons who were conveying provisions into the Castle, the guns of which opened on the Weigh-house, killing and wounding several in the streets. Charles retaliated by enforcing a strict blockade; and, in revenge, Preston's garrison fired on every Highlander that came in sight.

On this, by order of the Adjutant-General, Lord George Murray, the picket was removed to the north side of the High Street; but, as it was found inconvenient to relieve the post by corps, the gallant Lochiel undertook the entire blockade with his Camerons, who for that purpose were placed in the Parliament House.

Several loose characters, among whom was Daddie Ratcliff—who occupies so prominent a post in Scott's "Heart of Midlothian"—dressed as Highlanders, committed some outrages and robberies; but all were captured and shot, chiefly by Perth's Regiment, on Leith Links.

Charles contemplated the summons of a Scottish Parliament, but contented himself with denouncing, on the 3rd of October, "the pretended Parliament summoned by the Elector of Hanover at Westminster," and declaring it treason for the Scots to attend. On the preceding day the following proclamation was issued from Holyrood.

"CHARLES P. R. being resolved that no communication shall be open between the Castle and town of Edinburgh during our residence in the capital, and to prevent the bad effects of reciprocal firing, from thence and from our troops, whereby the houses and inhabitants of our city may innocently suffer, we hereby make public notice, that none shall dare, without a special pass, signed by our secretary, upon pain of death, either resort to, or come from the said Castle, upon any pretence whatsoever; with certification of any persons convicted of having had such intercourse, after this our proclamation shall immediately be carried to execution. Given at our palace of Holyrood House, 2nd Oct., 1745. (Signed) J. MURRAY."

Another guard was posted the next day at the West Church, while the Camerons began to form a trench and breastwork below the reservoir across the Castle Hill, but were compelled to retire under a fire of cannon from the Half-moon, and musketry from the *à la pique*, with the loss of some killed and wounded. Among the former was one officer. Another picket was now placed at

Livingstone's Yard, where a Highlander was assassinated by a soldier, who crept towards him with a pistol. The same night a party of the 47th made a sally against the same post, and captured Captain Robert Taylor and thirty privates.

On the morning of the 4th Preston commenced a wanton and destructive bombardment, chiefly in the direction of James's Court, and continued it till dusk, when, "led by Major Robertson, a strong party, with slung muskets, sallied with spades and axes to the Castle Hill, where they formed a trench fourteen feet broad and sixteen deep, midway between the gate and the reservoir. From the breastwork formed by the debris that night 200 muskets, besides field pieces, continued to blaze upon the city, in unison with the heavy 32-pounders, which from the lofty batteries above swept the entire length of the High Street with round shot, grape, and canister. Many persons were killed and wounded; but the following night the same operations were renewed with greater vigour. Under this tremendous fire the 47th (then numbered as the 48th) made another sally, pillaged all the houses in their vicinity, and, after obtaining a supply of bread and ale, and several barrels of water from the reservoir, set on fire several houses, and a deserted foundry, after which they retired behind their trench. Many of the poor citizens who attempted to extinguish the flames were killed, for once more the batteries opened with greater fury than ever. The glare of the burning houses, the boom of so many field and battery guns, the hallooing of the soldiers, the crash of masonry and timber as chimneys and outshots came thundering down on all sides, together with the incessant roar of 200 muskets, struck the inhabitants with such consternation, that, abandoning their houses, goods, and chattels, they thought only of saving themselves by flight. A miserable band of half-clad and terrified fugitives, bearing their children, their aged parents, their sick and infirm friends, to the number of many hundreds, issued from the Nether Bow Gate, and fled towards Leith, but were met midway by the inhabitants of that place, flying from similar destruction, for at that time the *Fox*, and *Ludlow Castle*, two frigates (whose captains, from the Roads, had heard the cannonading, and seen the blaze of the conflagration) were hauled close in-shore, and lay broadside towards Leith, and with a villainous cruelty—for which English hostility towards Scotland was no apology—were raking and bombarding the streets with the most fatal effects. When the fugitives met 'all was perplexity and dismay; the unhappy citizens stood still, wringing their hands, and execrating the cruel

necessities of war.' Fourteen days after, the *Fox* was wrecked on the rocks of Dunbar, when Captain Edmond Beavor and all his crew perished."

The Highlanders maintained their posts without flinching amid all this peril and consternation, and at five o'clock next evening, in defiance of field and battery guns, led by their officers, and inspired by their pipers, they stormed the breastwork by one wild rush, sword in hand, driving in the garrison, which retired firing by platoons; but the capture was made with such rapidity that the Prince lost only one officer and twenty privates. As the trench was too exposed, it was abandoned. Several balls went through the Luckenbooths, and many lodged in the walls of the Weigh-house, where they were found on its demolition in 1822; and Charles Edward, seeing the misery to which Preston exposed the people, generously withdrew the blockade; and thus ended the last investment of the Castle of Edinburgh; and it was said to be about this time that he made the narrow escape from capture in the Provost's house in the West Bow.

An act of hostility was committed by General Preston on the 21st September, when, overhearing some altercation in the dark at the West Port, where the Highland guard made some delay about admitting a lady in a coach drawn by six horses, he ordered three guns to be loaded with grape, depressed, and fired. Though aimed at random, the coach was pierced by several balls, and its fair occupant, Mrs. Cockburn, authoress of the modern version of the "Flowers of the Forest," had a narrow escape, while William Earl of Dundonald, captain in Forbes's Foot, who rode by her side, had his horse shot under him. At that moment, Mrs. Cockburn, who was returning from Ravelston, and who was a keen Whig, had in her pocket a burlesque parody on one of Prince Charles's proclamations, to the air of "Clout the Cauldron."

Another hostile act was committed when the Highland army, now increased to double its first strength, was reviewed on the Links of Leith prior to the march for England, when the guns from the Argyre Battery compelled Charles to change the scene of his operations to the Links of Musselburgh, at a time when the Forth was completely blocked up by ships of war. On the 30th the Prince slept at Pinkie House, and "on the 31st he commenced his memorable invasion of England, with an army only six thousand in number, but *one* in rivalry and valour. They departed in three columns; at the head of the third Charles marched on foot,\* clad in the Highland garb, with his claymore in his hand, and a target slung over his left shoulder."

General Preston saluted with cannon the officers of State who returned to Edinburgh on the 13th November, and hauled down his colours, which had been flying since the 16th of September. Guest then assumed the command, and was nobly rewarded, while Preston was consigned to neglect and the humble memorial of his long service was laid in vain before the Duke of Cumberland. Thus he reaped no advantage from his loyal adherence to

confined in damp vaults, and treated by the irritated soldiers with every indignity and opprobrium. To these were soon added a multitude of prisoners of all ranks, belonging to the regiments of Buckley, Berwick, and Clare, of the Irish Brigade in the French service captured by the *Milford Haven* (40 guns) on board the *Louis XV*, off Montrose. On the 9th December Lord John Drummond, en route to join the Prince in England, marched



THE WELCH HOUSE  
(From a drawing by Storer published in 1820)

the House of Hanover, whose policy it was then to slight the Scots in every way.

By a letter from the Lord President to the Marquis of Tweeddale (the last Scottish Secretary of State), we learn that at this crisis bank notes had ceased to be current, that all coin was locked up, "so that the man of best credit in this country cannot command a shilling," that bills on Edinburgh or London were of no value and that bills drawn for the subsistence of the Earl of Loudon's regiment had been returned protested.

On the departure of the Prince the Castle was crowded with those persons who had fallen under the suspicion of Government, among these were Alexander Earl of Kellie, and upwards of sixty gentlemen, all of whom were heavily ironed, closely

through Edinburgh, with 800 men and a train of 18 pounders. He sent a drummer to the Castle to effect an exchange of these prisoners, without avail, and sixteen who were proved to have been deserters from our army in Flanders were thrown into the Castle pit, from whence four were taken to the gallows in the Grassmarket. In the same month young Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, aide de camp to the Prince, was treacherously captured in the night, near Lesmahago, by the Reverend Mr. Linning, who, as the price of his blood, received the incumbency of that parish, according to "Forbes's Memoirs," and from the Castle he was taken to Carlisle, where he was hanged, drawn, and quartered.

About the end of November, when the High-

landers, after their retreat from England, were besieging Stirling, Lord Tweeddale wrote to General Guest, stating that they meant to take the capital again. On this, the Edinburghers at once held a solemn council of war, and valiantly resolved to defend the city, and once more all their plate and valuables were committed to the care of General Guest. It was

take, Hawley, who had served as a major at Sheriffnug, and always expressed contempt for the Highlanders, marched with fourteen battalions, besides cavalry and artillery, to Falkirk, where his army was routed as completely as that of Cope had been, and all his guns were taken, save one brought off by the 4th Regiment



CHARLES EDWARD IN HIS LATER YEARS  
(From a Portrait by O. J. Humphrey 1841 taken at Florence 1876.)

arranged that a store of provisions should be immediately laid in, that the cannon should be mounted on travelling carriages, that the walls and gates should be more completely fortified, that a corps of really resolute soldiers should be embodied, and again arms were issued to the Seceders, and all who required them, but on hearing that Charles had actually made a requisition for horses to draw his battering train, their courage evaporated a second time, and all ideas of fighting were abandoned, but the arrival of General Hawley's army relieved them from immediate apprehension.

Erecting an enormous gallows in the Grass market, whereon to hang all prisoners he might

In the Castle he lodged his sole trophy, the brave Major Donald Macdonald of Teindreich, who struck the first blow in the revolt at the Spean Bridge, and who had been captured in the smoke at Falkirk. He was brought in bound with ropes and kept in a dungeon till he was sent in chains to Carlisle, to be butchered with many others. He was a handsome man, and bore his sufferings with great cheerfulness.

"It was principle, and a thorough conviction of its being my duty to God, my injured king and oppressed country," said he, "which induced me to take up arms under the standard of his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, and I solemnly declare I had no bye views in drawing my sword in



his just and honourable cause." His wife pleaded for his pardon at the feet of George II. in vain, and, like the others, "he died with his last breath imploring a blessing on Prince Charles."

Lord Arundel of Wardour relates the following anecdote:—"Many years after the Stuart rising, the Duke of Cumberland being present at a ball at Bath, indicated as a person with whom he would like to dance, a beautiful girl, the daughter of Major Macdonald who was executed at Carlisle, and the circumstances of whose last moments supplied Sir Walter Scott with the incidents of M'Ivor's execution in 'Waverley.' The lady rose in deference to the prince, but replied in a tone which utterly discomfited his Royal Highness, 'No, sir, I will never dance with the *murderer of my father!*'"

The Duke, with an army overwhelming in numbers, as contrasted with that of Charles, passed through Edinburgh on the 21st of February, 1746, not marching at the head of his troops, like the latter, but travelling in a coach-and-six presented to him by the Earl of Hopetoun; and on being joined by 6,000 Hessians, who landed under the Landgrave at Leith, he proceeded to obliterate "all memory of the last disagreeable affair" as the rout at Falkirk was named. As he passed up the Canongate and High Street he is said to have expressed great surprise at the number of broken windows he saw; but when informed that this was the result of a recent illumination in his honour, and that a shattered casement indicated the residence of a Jacobite, he laughed heartily, remarking, "that he was better content with this explanation, ill as it omened to himself and his family, than he could have been with his first impression, which ascribed the circumstance to poverty or negligence."

A vast mob followed his coach, which passed through the Grassmarket, and quitted the city by

the West Port, *en route* to Culloden, and "at midnight on Saturday the 19th of April Viscount Bury, colonel of the 20th Regiment, aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland, reined up his jaded horse at the Castle gate, bearer of a despatch to the Lieutenant-General, announcing the victory; and at two o'clock on the morning of Sunday a salute from the batteries informed the startled and anxious citizens that, quenched in blood on the Muir of Drummockie, the star of the Stuarts had sunk for ever."

The standard of Charles, which Tullybardine unfurled in Glenfinnan, and thirteen others belonging to chiefs, with several pieces of artillery and a quantity of arms, were brought to the Castle and lodged in the arsenal, where some of the latter still remain; and one field-piece, which was placed on a battery to the westward, was long an object of interest to the people. With a spite that seems childish now, by order of Cumberland those standards, whose insignia were all significant of high descent and old achievement, were carried in procession to the Cross. The common hangman bore that of Charles, thirteen Tronmen, or sweeps, bore the rest, and all were flung into a fire, guarded by the 44th Regiment, while the heralds proclaimed the name of each chief to whom they belonged—Lochiel, Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengarry, and so forth; while the crowd looked on in silence. By this proceeding, so petty in its character, Cumberland failed alike to inflict an injury on the character of the chiefs or their faithful followers, among whom, at that dire time, the bayonet, the gibbet, the torch, and the axe, were everywhere at work; and, when we consider his blighted life and reputation in the long years that followed, it seems that it would have been well had the Young Chevalier, the "bonnie Prince Charlie" of so much idolatry, found his grave on the Moor of Culloden.

## CHAPTER XLII.

### THE NORTH BRIDGE.

**The New Town projected by James VII.—The North Bridge and other Structures by the Earl of Mar, 1798—Opposed in 1799—Foundation Stone Laid—Erection Delayed till 1765—Henderson's Plan—William Mylne appointed Architect—Terms of the Contract—Fall of the Bridge—Repaired and Completed—The Upper and Lower Flesh-Markets—Old Post Office—Adam Black—Ann Street—The Ettrick Shepherd and the "Noctes"—The Bridge Widened.**

ONE of the most important events in the annals of Edinburgh was the erection of the North Bridge, by means of which, in spite of years of opposition, the long-suggested plan for having a

new and enlarged city, beyond the walls and barriers of the old one, was eventually and successfully developed to an extent far beyond what its enthusiastic and patriotic projectors could

have foreseen ; we say long-suggested, for, though not carried out till the early years of George III.'s reign, it had been projected in the latter end of the reign of Charles II.

The idea was first suggested when James VII., as Duke of Albany and York, was resident Royal Commissioner at Holyrood, in the zenith of the only popularity he ever had in Scotland. Vast numbers of the Scottish nobility and gentry flocked around him, and the old people of the middle of the eighteenth century used to recall with delight the magnificence and brilliance of the court he gathered in the long-deserted palace, and the general air of satisfaction which pervaded the entire city.

Despite the recent turmoils and sufferings consequent on the barbarous severity with which the Covenanters had been treated, Edinburgh was prosperous, and its magistrates bestowed noble presents upon their royal guest ; but the best proof of the city's prosperity was the new and then startling idea of having an extended royalty and a North Bridge, and this idea the Duke of Albany warmly patronised and encouraged, and towards it gave the citizens a grant in the following terms :—

"That, when they should have occasion to enlarge their city by purchasing ground without the town, or to build bridges or arches for the accomplishing of the same, not only were the proprietors of such lands obliged to part with the same on reasonable terms, but when in possession thereof, they are to be erected into a regality in favour of the citizens ; and after finishing the Canongate church, the city is to have the surplus of the 20,000 merks given by Thomas Moodie, in the year 1649, with the interest thereof ; and as all public streets belong to the king, the vaults and cellars under those of Edinburgh being forfeited to the Crown, by their being built without leave or consent of his majesty, he granted all the said vaults or cellars to the town, together with a power to oblige the proprietors of houses, to lay before their respective tenements large flat stones for the convenience of walking."

James VII. had fully at heart the good of Edinburgh, and but for the events of the Revolution the improvements of the city would have commenced seventy-two years sooner than they did, but the neglect of subsequent monarchs fell heavily alike on the capital and the kingdom. "Unfortunately," says Robert Chambers, "the advantages which Edinburgh enjoyed under this system of things were destined to be of short duration. Her royal guest departed, with all his family and retinue, in May, 1682. In six years more he was lost both

to Edinburgh and Britain ; and 'a stranger filled the Stuart's throne,' under whose dynasty Scotland pined long in undeserved reprobation."

The desertion of the city consequent on the Union made all prospect of progress seem hopeless, yet some there were who never forgot the cherished idea of an extended royalty. Among various plans, the most remarkable for its foresight was that of John eighteenth Lord Erskine and eleventh Earl of Mar, who was exiled for his share in the insurrection of 1715.

His sole amusement during the years of the long exile in which he died at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1732 was to draw plans and designs for the good of his beloved native country and its capital ; and the paper to which we refer is one written by him in 1728, and mentioned in vol. 3 of the "Old Statistical Account of Scotland," published in 1793.

"All ways of improving Edinburgh should be thought on : as in particular, making a *large bridge of three arches*, over the ground betwixt the North Loch and Physic Gardens, from the High Street at Liberton's Wynd to the Multersey Hill, where many fine streets might be built, as the inhabitants increased. The access to them would be easy on all hands, and the situation would be agreeable and convenient, having a noble prospect of all the fine ground towards the sea, the Firth of Forth, and coast of Fife. One long street in a straight line, where the Long Gate is now (Princes Street ?) ; on one side of it would be a fine opportunity for gardens down to the North Loch, and one, on the other side, towards Broughton. No houses to be on the bridge, the breadth of the North Loch ; but selling the places or the ends for houses, and the vaults and arches below for warehouses and cellars, the charge of the bridge might be defrayed.

"Another bridge might also be made on the other side of the town, and almost as useful and commodious as that on the north. The place where it could most easily be made is St. Mary's Wynd, and the Pleasance. The hollow there is not so deep, as where the other bridge is proposed, so that it is thought that two storeys of arches might raise it near the level with the street at the head of St. Mary's Wynd. Betwixt the south end of the Pleasance and the Potter-row, and from thence to Bristo Street, and by the back of the wall at Heriot's Hospital, are fine situations for houses and gardens. There would be fine avenues to the town, and outlets for airing and walking by these bridges ; and Edinburgh, from being a bad incommodious situation, would become a very beneficial and convenient one ; and to make it still more so, a branch of that river, called the Water of Leith, might, it is thought, be brought

from somewhere about Coltbridge, to fill and run through the North Loch, which would be of great advantage to the convenience, beauty, cleanliness, and healthiness of the town "

In the next paragraph this far-seeing nobleman suggests the canal between the Forth and Clyde, but all that he projected for Edinburgh, by means of his bridges, has been accomplished to the full, and more than he could ever have dreamt of

in 1763, and a proper foundation sought for the erection, which, however, is only indicated by two dotted parallel lines in Edgar's plan of the city, dated 1765, which "shew ye road along ye intendd bridge," which was always spoken of as simply a new way to Leith

The first stone was deposited on the 1st of October, 1763, and Kincaid relates that in 1794 "some people very lately, if not yet alive, have posi



PALACE OF MARY OF GUISE, CASTLE HILL (From a Drawing by W I Scott)

The North Bridge, as a preliminary to the formation of the New Town, was first planned by Sir William Bruce of Kinross, architect to Charles II, and his design "is supposed to be now lying in the Exchequer," wrote Kincaid in 1794, but another plan would seem to have been prepared in 1752, yet no steps were taken for furthering the execution of it till 1759, when the magistrates applied for a Bill to extend the royalty over the ground on which the New Town stands, but were defeated by the vigorous opposition of the landholders of the county . .

After four years' delay the city was obliged to set about building the bridge without having any Bill for it By the patriotic exertions of Provost Drummond a portion of the loch was drained

tively asserted that Provost Drummond declared to them that he only began to execute what the Duke, afterwards James VII, proposed "

This auspicious event was conducted with all the pomp and ceremony the city at that time afforded George Drummond, the Lord Provost, was appointed, as being the only former Grand-Master present to act in this position, in the absence of the then Grand Master, the Earl of Elgin The various lodges of the Freemasons assembled in the Parliament House at two in the afternoon, from thence, escorted by the City Guard and two companies of militia, they marched three abreast, with all their insignia, the junior lodges going first, down Leith Wynd, from the foot of which they turned westward along the north bank

of the old loch, to the excavation where the stone lay. As they proceeded a "band of the fraternity," says the *Edinburgh Museum* for 1763, "accompanied with French horns and other instrumental music, sung several fine airs, marches, &c. The Grand-Master, surrounded by about 600 brethren, and in view of an infinite crowd of spectators, after having applied severally the square, the plumb, level, compass, and the mallet, and used other ceremonies and symbols common on such occasions, laid the stone, amid the acclamation and applause of all present."

There were placed in the cavity of the stone three medals struck for the occasion. On one was an elevation of the intended bridge, on another a profile of George III. The last one bore a repetition of the inscription, which is cut on the stone in large capital letters.

By five o'clock the ceremony was over, and the brethren marched in procession to the Assembly Hall, where they passed the evening "with that social cheerfulness for which the society is so eminently distinguished."

Still the bridge was not proceeded with, and there would seem to have been some indecision as to who was to be the architect thereof, as in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of 19th February, 1765, we read that "the committee appointed to judge of the several plans given in for erecting a bridge over the North Loch, determined in favour of No. 5. This turns out to be the performance of Mr. David Henderson, mason and architect at Sauchie, near Alloa, who lately published proposals for printing a book of architecture. On account of his plan he is entitled to the reward of thirty guineas."

Henderson's design, however, was not adopted. It had been forwarded in consequence of the following advertisement, which appeared in the Scottish papers in the January of that year:—

"The Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town Council of Edinburgh, being sensible of the great advantage which will accrue to this city and to the public in general from having a proper communication *between the High Street and the fields on the north*, have unanimously resolved to follow out the design of making one, and have appointed a committee of their number for carrying the scheme into execution.

"This public notice is therefore made, inviting all architects and others to give in plans and elevations for making a communication, *by bridge or otherwise*, from the Cap-and-Feather Close, in a straight line to the opposite side, leading to the Multer's Hill, with an equal declivity of one foot in eighteen to one in seventeen. Such persons as intend to give in plans and elevations must send them sealed, addressed to the Lord Provost, to the care of Mr. James Tait, or Mr. Alexander Duncan, Depute Town Clerks, at the Council Chamber, on or before the first day of February next. Within the plan, upon a separate piece of paper, sealed up,

the person offering the plan will write his name, the seal of which paper is not to be broke [sic] up, unless the plan is belong to the approver.

"The person whose plan is approved of will receive thirty guineas, or a medal of that value. . . . It is expected that the plans to be given in will be done in such a manner as that estimates of expense may be made from them; and it is required that the breadth of the bridge between the parapets be 40 feet" (*Edinburgh Advertiser*, vol. iii. p. 22).

On the 1st of August, 1765, the contract for the erection of the bridge was signed, the parties being the magistrates of Edinburgh on the one hand, and on the other William Mylne, architect, descendant of the hereditary Master Masons of Scotland, and brother of Robert Mylne. The work was to be completed by Martinmas, 1769, and to be upheld for ten years, for the sum of £10,140; but of the great sum which it is said to have cost, viz., £28,000, after selling the areas, on the east, west, and at the south end, which drew about £3,000, there remained £25,000 of nett expenditure.

By the contract, the bridge was to consist of five arches, three of 27 feet span, and two of 20 each; the four piers to be 13 feet 6 inches thick in the body. There were to be two abutments, 8 feet thick, with wing walls and parapets; those on the west to terminate at Mylne's Square; those on the east to be carried no farther than Shearer's Land. The length from the north to the south pedestal on the west side was to be 1,134 feet, with 40 feet between the parapets; but 50 to be between them from the north end of the south abutment to the north end of Mylne's Square. This difference is apparent on the bridge to the present day.

"The earth to be dug out at the charge of Mr. Mylne, and to be by him moved to such places as shall be necessary to fill up any part of the spaces over the arches. The foundations to be sunk to the rock, or natural earth, which has never been moved; or if the natural foundation be bad, it is to be properly assisted and made good by art."

So actively and diligently did Mr. Mylne set about his work, that by the midsummer of 1769 the arches were all completed, the keystone of the first of the three larger ones "was struck on Saturday, May 21, 1768."

An unforeseen difficulty occurred, however, in the course of the work. As the north part of the hill on which the old city stands is extremely steep, it had been found convenient in early times to throw the earth dug from the foundations of the ancient wynds and closes towards the North Loch; thus the whole mass then consisted almost entirely of travelled earth. Unaware of this, to some extent, Mylne ceased to dig at a place where there were no

less than eight feet of this loose earth between his shovels and the natural solid clay. Another error seems to have been committed in not raising the piers to a sufficient height; and to remedy this he raised about eight feet of earth upon the vaults and arches at the south end, causing thereby a regular, but still unsightly slope.

The result of all this was that on the 3rd of August, 1769, this portion gave way, by the mass of earth having been swollen by recent rains. The abutments burst, the vaults yielded to the pressure, and five persons were buried in the ruins, out of which they were dug at different times.

This event caused the greatest excitement in the city, and had it happened half an hour sooner might have proved very calamitous, as a vast multitude of persons of every religious denomination was assembled in Orphan Hospital Park, northward of the Trinity College church, to hear a sermon preached by Mr. Townsend, an Episcopal clergyman; and after it was over some would have had to cross the bridge, and others pass beneath it, to their homes. Three or four scattered houses were already erected in the New Town; but after this event it was some time before people took courage to erect more.

The bridge was repaired by pulling down the side walls, rebuilding them with chain bars, removing the vast masses of earth, and supplying its place with hollow arches, and by raising the walls that crossed the bridge, so that the vaults which sprang from them might bring the road to a proper elevation. Strong buttresses and counterforts were added to the south end, and on these are erected the present North Bridge Street. At the north end there is only one counterfort on the east side; but ere all this was done there had been a plea in law between the contracting parties before the Court of Session, and an appeal to the House of Lords, in both of which Mr. Mylne was unfortunate. The expense of completion amounted to £17,354. The height of the great arches from the top of the parapet to the base is 68 feet.

The bridge was first passable in 1772; but the balustrades being open, a complaint was made publicly in 1783 that "passengers continue to be blown from the pavement into the mud in the middle of the bridge." Those at the south end were closed in 1782, thus screening the eyes "of passengers from the blood and slaughter," in the markets below, according to the appendix to Arnot's "History;" and regarding the tempests of wind, to which Edinburgh is so subject, elsewhere he tells us that in 1778 "the Leith Guard, consisting of a sergeant and twelve men of the 70th

Regiment, were all there *blown off* the Castle Hill, and some of them sorely hurt."

In 1774 the magistrates proclaimed that all beggars found in the streets would be imprisoned in the dark vaults beneath the North Bridge, and there fed on bread and water.

From the then new buildings erected on the south-west end of the bridge, a flight of steps upward gives access to Mylne's Court; and two flights downward lead to the old market at the foot of the Fleshmarket Close.

In Edgar's plan, 1765, the Upper and Lower Fleshmarkets are both shown as being in this quarter, and also that the bridge had run through a great portion of the ancient Greenmarket. Kincaid thus describes them in his time (1794) as consisting of three divisions forming oblong squares. "The uppermost is allotted for the veal market, and as yet only finished on the north side; the middlemost is occupied by the incorporation of fleshers, and is neatly fitted up and arched all round, and each division numbered; the other, called the Low Market, is likewise arched round, but not numbered, and allotted for those that are not of the incorporation. Few cities in Britain are better supplied with butcher meat of all kinds than this city, an instance of which occurred in 1781. Admiral Parker, with a fleet of 15 sail of the line, 9 frigates, and 600 merchantmen, lay nearly two months in Leith Roads, and was supplied with every kind of provisions, and the markets were not raised one farthing, although there could not be less than 20,000 men for nearly seven weeks. Merchants from different parts of Britain who, either from motives of humanity, or esteeming it a profitable adventure, had sent four transports with fresh provisions to the fleet, had them returned without breaking bulk." The market is now much more complete and perfect than in the days referred to, and smaller town markets than the central suite are open in other quarters.

In the block of buildings next the north market stair the General Post Office for Scotland was established, after its removal from Lord Covington's house; after which, in 1821, it was transferred to a new edifice on the Regent Bridge, at which period, we are told, the despatch of the mails was conducted in an apartment about thirty feet square, and purposely kept as dark as possible, in order to derive the full advantage of artificial light employed in the process of examining letters, to see whether they contained enclosures or not. At this time James Earl of Caithness was Deputy Postmaster-General for Scotland.

The same edifice was latterly, and until their

removal in 1850 to a handsome and more spacious one—built in a kind of old Scoto-English style of architecture, on the opposite side, and on the site of a portion of Halkerston's Wynd, and numbered as 6 in the street—the establishment of the well-known firm of publishers, Adam and Charles Black. The former, long a leading citizen, magistrate, and member for the city, was born in 1784, and died on the 24th of January, 1874.

Educated at the High School and University of his native city Edinburgh, though but the son of a humble builder, Adam Black raised himself to affluence, and is said to have more than once declined the honour of knighthood. After serving his apprenticeship, he started in business as a bookseller, and among other important works brought out the "Encyclopædia Britannica," under the joint conduct of Professor Macvey Napier and James Browne, LL.D.; and to this his own pen contributed many articles. From the beginning of his career he took an active part in the politics of the city, and in the early part of the present century was among the boldest of the slender band of Liberals who stood up for burgh reform, as the preliminary to the great measure of a Parliamentary one.

When the other well-known firm of Constable and Co. failed, the publication of *The Edinburgh Review* passed into the hands of Adam Black, and thus drew the Liberal party more closely by his side. He was Provost of the city from 1843 to 1848, and filled his trust so much to the satisfaction of the citizens, that they subscribed to have his portrait painted to ornament the walls of the Council Room. He was proprietor, by purchase, of the copyright of "The Waverley Novels," and many other works by Sir Walter Scott. It was when he was beyond his seventieth year that he was returned to the House of Commons as member for the city, in succession to Lord Macaulay; and being a member of the Independent body, he was ever an advocate for unsectarian education, absolute freedom of trade, and the most complete toleration in religion; but the cradle of his fortunes was that little shop which till 1821 was, as we said, deemed ample enough for the postal establishment and requirements of all Scotland.

The new buildings along the west side of the North Bridge, from Princes Street to the first open arch, were erected between 1817 and 1819, with a range of shops then deemed magnificent, but far outshone by hundreds erected since in their vicinity. These buildings are twice the height in rear that they are to the bridge front, and their erection intercepted a grand view from Waterloo Place south-westward to the Castle, and thus roused a

spirited, but, as it eventually proved, futile resistance, on the part of Cockburn and Cranston, Professor Playfair, Henry Mackenzie, James Stuart of Duncarn, and others, who spent about £1,000 in the work of opposition.

Their erection led to the demolition of a small edificed thoroughfare named Ann Street, which once contained the house of a well-known literary citizen, John Grieve, who gave free quarters to James Hogg, the Ettrick Shepherd, when the latter arrived in Edinburgh in 1810, and published a little volume of poems entitled "The Forest Minstrel," from which he derived no pecuniary benefit. Poverty was pressing sorely on Hogg, "but," says a biographer, "he found kind and steady friends in Messrs. Grieve and Scott, hatters, whose well-timed benevolence supplied all his wants."

While he was still in obscurity, John Grieve obtained him introductions to Professor Wilson and other local literati, which ultimately led to his becoming a contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*. Mr. Grieve is referred to in the quarrel between the Shepherd and the Blackwoods concerning the famous *Noctes Ambrosianæ*. He ceased to contribute, whereupon Wilson wrote thus to Grieve on the subject:—

"If Mr. Hogg puts his return to 'Maga' on the ground that 'Maga' suffers from his absence from her pages, and that Mr. B. must be very desirous of his re-assistance, that will be at once a stumbling-block in the way of settlement; for Mr. B., whether rightly or wrongly, will not make the admission. No doubt Mr. H.'s articles were often excellent, and no doubt 'Noctes' were very popular, but the magazine, however much many readers must have missed Mr. Hogg and the 'Noctes,' has been gradually increasing in sale, and therefore Mr. B. will never give in to that view of the subject.

"Mr. Hogg in his letter to me, and in a long conversation I had with him in my own house yesterday after dinner, sticks to his proposal of £100 settled on him, on condition of writing, and becoming again the hero of the 'Noctes' as before. I see many difficulties in the way of such an arrangement, and I know that Mr. Blackwood will never agree to it in any shape, for it might eventually prove degrading and disgraceful to both parties, appearing to the public to be a bribe given and taken dishonourably."

"My father," adds Mrs. Gordon, whose life of the Professor we quote, "never wrote another 'Noctes' after the Shepherd's death, which took place in 1835."

In consequence of the increase of population and traffic by its vicinity to the railway termini,

after numerous schemes and suggestions, the North Bridge was widened in 1873, after designs by Messrs. Stevenson. The average number of foot-passengers traversing this bridge daily is said to be considerably in excess of 90,000, and the number of wheeled vehicles upwards of 2,000.

The ground at the north-east end of the bridge

has been so variously occupied in succession by an edifice named Dingwall's Castle, by Shakespeare Square, and the old Theatre Royal, with its thousand memories of the drama in Edinburgh, and latterly by the General Post Office for Scotland, that we must devote a chapter or two to that portion of it alone.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

### EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH BRIDGE.

*Dingwall's Castle—Whitefield's "Preachings"—History of the Old Theatre Royal—The Building—David Ross's Management—Leaved to Mr. Foote—Then to Mr. Digges—Mr. Moss—Mrs. Yates—Next Leased to Mr. Jackson—The Suddons' Property—Reception of the Great Actress—Mrs. Baddeley—New Patent The Playhouse Riot—"The Scottish Roscius"—A Ghost—Expurgation of the Patent*

BUILT no one knows when, but existing during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there stood on the site now occupied by the General Post Office, an edifice named Dingwall's Castle. In 1647, Gordon of Rothiemay, in his wonderfully distinct and detailed bird's-eye view of the city, represents it as an open ruin, in form a square tower with a round one at each angle, save on the north-east, where one was fallen down in part. All the sloping bank and ground between it and the Trinity College church are shown as open, but bordered on the west by a line of houses, which he names *Niniani Suburbium seu mendicorum Platea* (known latterly as the Beggars' Row), and on the west and north by high walls, the latter crenellated, and by a road which descends close to the edge of the loch, and then runs along its bank straight westward.

This stronghold is supposed to have derived its name from Sir John Dingwall, who was Provost of the Trinity College church before the Reformation; and hence the conclusion is, that it was a dependency of that institution. He was one of the first Lords of Session appointed on the 25th May, 1532, at the formation of the College of Justice, and his name is third on the list.

Of him nothing more is known, save that he existed and that is all. Some fragments of the castle are still supposed to exist among the buildings on its site, and some were certainly traced among the cellars of Shakespeare Square on its demolition in 1860.

During the year 1584, when the Earl of Arran was Provost of the city, on the 30th September, the Council commissioned Michael Chisholm and others to inquire into the order and condition of an ancient leper hospital which stood beside Dingwall's Castle; but of the former no distinct trace is given in Gordon's view.

In Edgar's map of Edinburgh, in 1765, no indication of these buildings is given, but the ground occupied by the future theatre and Shakespeare Square is shown as an open park or irregular parallelogram closely bordered by trees, measuring about 350 feet each way, and lying between the back of the old Orphan Hospital and the village of Multrie's Hill, where now the Register House stands.

It was in this park, known then as that of the Trinity Hospital, that the celebrated Whitefield used yearly to harangue a congregation of all creeds and classes in the open air, when visiting Edinburgh in the course of his evangelical tours. On his coming thither for the first time after the Act had passed for the extension of the royalty, great was his horror, surprise, and indignation, to find the green slope which he had deemed to be rendered almost sacred by his prelections, enclosed by fences and sheds, amid which a theatre was in course of erection.

The ground was being "appropriated to the service of Satan. The frantic astonishment of the Nixie who finds her shrine and fountain desolated in her absence, was nothing to that of Whitefield. He went raging about the spot, and contemplated the rising walls of the playhouse with a sort of grim despair. He is said to have considered the circumstance as a positive mark of the increasing wickedness of society, and to have termed it a plucking up of God's standard, and a planting of the devil's in its place."

The edifice which he then saw in course of erection was destined, for ninety years, to be inseparably connected with the more recent rise of the drama in Scotland generally, in Edinburgh in particular, and to be closely identified with all the artistic and scenic glories of the stage. It was long a place replete with interest, and yet recalls

happy reminiscences and bright associations in the minds of thousands, and it was one of the very few theatres that, escaping the ravages of fire, attain to a good old age.

Prior to the reign of George III there was not a single theatre in Scotland countenanced by the law of the land. One which was erected in Glasgow in 1752, and on which a military guard mounted nightly, was demolished about two years after, by a mob when returning from one of Whitefield's sermons, but when the New Town of Edinburgh was projected, a clause was introduced into the Act empowering the Crown to grant royal letters patent for the establishment of a theatre in Edinburgh.

Mr David Ross, manager of a small one then existing amid many difficulties, in the Canongate, and latterly of Covent Garden Theatre—a respectable man who had managed two houses in London—obtained the patent, and the foundation-stone of the new theatre was laid on the 16th of March, 1765.

In the stone was laid a silver plate inscribed thus:

"The first stone of this new theatre was laid on the 16th day of March in the year of our Lord 1765 by David Ross patentee and first proprietor of a licensed stage in Scotland. May this theatre tend to promote every moral and every virtuous principle and may the representation be such

"To make man and man know virtue's hold  
Live on each scene and be what they behold."

But Mr Ross's first legitimate performance as a licensed manager took place in the old theatre, which opened unusually late in the season, owing to a dreadful riot that happened in January, and the repairs incident to which occupied ten months, during which there were no representations whatever. Ross opened then, with the patented company on the 9th of December, 1767, with the tragedy of the *Earl of Essex*. He spoke the

prologue, which was written by James Boswell, who, in the following lines, referred to the new theatre as the first one licensed in Scotland—

"Whilst in all points with other lands she vied  
The stage alone to Scotland was denied  
Mistaken zeal in times of darkness bled,  
O'er the best minds its gloomy vapours spread,  
Taste and Religion were oppos'd in strife,

And 'twas a sin to view  
this glass of life!  
When the muse venture'd  
the ungracious task,  
To play elusion with an  
licensed mask,  
Mirth was restrained by  
statutory awe  
An Iragic grudge obscured  
the scourge of law,  
Illustrous heroes errant  
saunders seemed,  
And gentle nymphs were  
stung by leasars  
decided

By the proposal for building this new theatre, according to the *Scots Magazine* for 1768, Mr Ross had to raise £2,500 by twenty five shares, at £100 per share, for which the subscribers were to receive 3 per cent, and free access to all performances and every part of the house, *except* behind the scenes. "The house is to be 100 feet in length by 50 broad

To furnish new scenes, wardrobe, and necessary decorations will it is computed, cost £1,500 more and the whole building, &c. is to be insured for £4,000 and mortgaged as security to pay the interest. As it would be impossible to procure good performers should the tickets continue at the low price now paid, it is proposed to make the boxes 4s, the pit 3s, the first gallery 2s, and the upper 1s. For these prices, says Mr Ross, this stage shall vie with those of London and Dublin. There shall be five capital men actors, one good man singer, one second ditto, three capital women actresses, two capital women singers, one capital man dancer, and one woman ditto, the rest as good as can be had, the orchestra shall be conducted with a good first fiddler, as a leader, a harpsichord, and the rest of the band persons of merit."



(FOURTH FROM LEFT) LORD PROVOST  
(The Earl of Essex) First Or. with last  
(1765)



Soon after, Mr. Ross advertised that he found "the general voice incline that the boxes and pit should be an equal price. As that is the case, no more than sixpence will be added to the tickets: boxes and pit 3s., galleries 2s. and 1s. The manager's first plan must therefore be in some degree contracted; but no pains, care, or expense, will be spared to open the new theatre on the 14th of November next with as complete a company as can be got together."

Arnot, writing of the view of the edifice as seen from the bridge, truly averred that "it produces the double effect of disgusting spectators by its own deformity, and obstructing the view of the Register Office, perhaps the handsomest building in the nation."

Its front was somewhat better, being entirely of polished ashlar, presenting a gable and moulded pediment, with three large circular-headed windows, opening upon a spacious balcony and balustrade, which crowned the portico. The latter consisted of six plain Doric pillars with a cornice. This faced the green slope of Multree's Hill, on which the Register House was not built till 1772.

The theatre was opened in December, 1769, at the total expense of £5,000, and at the then rates of admission the house held £140. Its rival in the Canongate, when the prices were 2s. 6d., 1s. 6d., and 1s., held from £70 to £80.

The downfall of the bridge was the first difficulty with which Mr. Ross had to contend, as it cut off the only tolerable communication with the city; so there stood the theatre on the lonely slope, no New Town whatever beside it; only a straggling house or two at wide intervals; and the ladies and gentlemen obliged to come from the High Street by the way of Leith Wynd, or by Halkerston's Wynd, which, in the slippery nights of winter, had to be thickly strewn with ashes, for the bearers of sedan chairs. Moreover, the house was often so indifferently lighted, that when a box was engaged by a gentleman he usually sent a pound or so of additional candles.

Owing to these and other reasons Mr. Ross had two unsuccessful seasons. "The indifference of the company which the manager provided," says Arnot, "gave little inducement to people at the expense of such disagreeable access to visit his theatre; but he loudly exclaimed in his own defence that good performers were so discouraged by the fall of the bridge that they would not engage with him, and his popularity not being equal to his merit as an actor, but rather proportioned to his indolence as a manager, he made but an unsuccessful campaign. The fact is," adds Arnot, and

his remark suits the present hour, "Edinburgh does not give encouragement to the stage proportionable to the populousness of the city."

Losing heart, Mr. Ross leased the house for three years to the celebrated Samuel Foote, patentee of the Haymarket Theatre, at 500 guineas per annum, and he was the first great theatrical star that ever appeared on the Edinburgh stage. Co-operating with Messrs. Woodward and Weston, and a good company, he opened the house for the next season, and, after paying the proprietor his rent, cleared £1,000. He opened it on the 17th of November, 1770, with his own comedy, entitled, *The Commissary*. "The audience was numerous and splendid, and the performance highly relished. The plays are regularly continued every Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday."\*

On the 24th of the same month, before Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord President of the Court, and a distinguished audience, he produced his comedy of *The Mirror*, in which the characters of Whitefield and other zealous ministers are held up to a ridicule amounting almost to blasphemy, particularly in the case of the former, who figures under the name of Dr. Squintum. On the following day Dr. Walker of the High Church, from the pulpit, made a keen and bitter attack upon Foote "for the gross profanation of the theatre on the preceding evening." The difficulty of managing two theatres so far apart as one in London and another in Edinburgh, induced Foote to think of getting rid of his lease of the latter, prior to which he had a dispute with Ross, requiring legal interference, in which he had the worst of it. Ross's agent called on Foote in London, to receive payment of his bill, adding that he was about to return to Edinburgh.

"How do you mean to travel?" asked Foote, with a sneer. "I suppose, like most of your countrymen, you will do it in the most economical manner?"

"Yes," replied the Scot, putting the cash laughingly into his pocket; "I shall travel on *foot* (Foote)."

And he left the wit looking doubly rueful and angry.

Foote conveyed the lease to Messrs. West Digges, and Bland, who at its expiry obtained a renewal of it from Ross for five years, at 500 guineas per annum. They made a good hit at first, and cleared £1,400 the first season, having opened with the well-known Mrs. Hartley. Digges had once been in the army, was a man of good connections, but a spendthrift. He was an admir-

able performer in fashionable comedy, and had been long a favourite at the Canongate Theatre.

Bland was also well connected; he had been a Templar, an officer in the army at Fontenoy, and in the repulse of the British cavalry by the Highlanders on Cliftonmoor in 1745. For twenty-three years he continued to be a prime favourite on these old boards; he was the uncle of Mrs. Jordan; and Edmund Glover, so long a favourite also in Edinburgh and Glasgow, was nearly related to him. In 1774 Foote came from Dublin to perform here again. "We hear," says *Ruddiman's Magazine*, "that he is to perform seven nights, for which he is to receive £250. *The Nabob, The Bankrupt, The Maid of Bath, and Piety in Pattens*, all of which have been written by our modern Aristophanes, are the four pieces that will be exhibited."

In these new hands the theatre became prosperous, and the grim little enclosure named Shakespeare Square sprang up near it; but the west side was simply the rough rubble wall of the bridge, terminating in later years, till 1860, in a kind of kiosk named "The Box," in which papers and periodicals were sold. It was simply a place of lodging-houses, a humble inn or two, like the Red Lion tavern and oyster shop.

At intervals between 1773 and 1815 Mr. Moss was a prime favourite at the Royal. One of his cherished characters was Lovegold in *The Miser*; but that in which he never failed to "bring down the house" was Caleb, in *He would be a Soldier*, especially when in the military costume of the early part of George III.'s reign, he sang his song, "I'm the Dandy O."

Donaldson, in his "Recollections," speaks of acting for the benefit of poor Moss in 1851, at Stirling, when he—who had delighted the audience of the then capital in the *Merchant of Venice*—was an aged cripple, penniless and poor. "Moss," he adds, "caught the inspiration from the renowned Macklin, whose *Jew*, by Pope's acknowledgment, was unrivalled, even in the days of David Garrick, and he bequeathed to his protégé Moss that conception which descended to the most original and extraordinary Shylock of any period—Edmund Kean."

During the management of West Digges most of the then London stars, save Garrick, appeared in the old Royal. Among them were Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Barry, Mr. and Mrs. Yates, and, occasionally, Foote.

Of Mrs. Yates Kay gives an etching in the character of the *Duchess of Braganza*, a play by an obscure author named Henry Crisp.\* The period to which his print refers was 1785, when—though

she was well advanced in years, having been born in 1729 (in London, but of Scottish parents)—she was paid at the rate of a hundred guineas per night by Mr. Jackson. From Mr. Digges she and her husband received seven hundred guineas at the end of one season. "The gentlemen of the bar and some even of the bench had been zealous patrons of the drama since the Canongate days, even to the taking a personal concern in its affairs. They continued to do this for many years after this time. Dining being then an act performed at four o'clock, the aristocracy were free to give their attendance at half-past six, and did so in great numbers whenever there was any tolerable attraction. So fashionable, indeed, had the theatre become, that a man of birth and fashion named Mr. Nicholson Stewart came forward one night, in the character of Richard III., to raise funds for the building of a bridge over the Carron, at a ford where many lives had been lost. On this occasion the admission to all parts of the house was five shillings, and it was crowded by what the journals of the day tell us was a *polite* audience. The gentleman's action was allowed to be just, but his voice too weak."\*

In 1781 the theatre passed into the hands of Mr. John Jackson, author of a rather dull "History of the Scottish Stage, with a Narrative of Recent Theatrical Transactions." It was published at Edinburgh in 1793. Like his predecessors in the management he was a man of good education, and well connected, and had chosen the stage as the profession he loved best. In the second year of his rule Siddons appeared in the full power of her talent and beauty as Portia, at Drury Lane; and Jackson, anxious to secure her for Edinburgh, hastened to London, and succeeded in inducing her to make an engagement, then somewhat of an undertaking when the mode of travel in those days is considered; and on the 22nd of May, 1784, she made her appearance at the Theatre Royal, when, as the *Edinburgh Weekly Magazine* records, "the manager took the precaution, after the first night, to have an officer's guard of soldiers at the principal door. But several scuffles having ensued, through the eagerness of the people to get places, and the soldiers having been rash enough to use their bayonets, it was thought advisable to withdraw the guard on the third night, lest any accident had happened from the pressure of the crowd, who began to assemble round the doors at eleven in the forenoon."

Her part was Belvidera, Jaffier being performed

\* "Sketch of the Theatre Royal," 1899.

by Mr. Joseph Wood, a very reputable actor, long well-known on the Edinburgh stage. Thomas Campbell thus relates the reception, memorable in the annals of the Drama, of Mrs. Siddons, as he learned it from her own lips :—"The grave atten-

in her heart, that if *this* could not touch the Scots she would never again cross the Tweed ! When it was finished she paused, and looked to the audience. The deep silence was broken only by a single voice exclaiming, '*That's no bad !*' This



ADAM BLACK. (From a Photograph by Messrs. Maull & Co.)

tion of my Scottish countrymen," he writes, "and their canny reservation of praise till they were sure she had deserved it, had well-nigh worn out her patience. She had been used to speak to animated audiences, but now she felt that she had been speaking to stones. Successive flashes of her elocution that had always been sure to electrify the South, fell in vain on these Northern flints. At last, as I well remember, she told me she toiled up all her power to the most emphatic possible utterance of one passage, having previously vowed

ludicrous parsimony of praise convulsed the audience with laughter. But the laugh was followed by such thunders of applause, that, amidst her stunned and nervous agitation, she was not without fear of the galleries coming down."

Mr. Yates, and other players, had remarked the extreme coldness or quietness of the Edinburgh audience, and while they thought it might indicate a deep and appreciative feeling regarding the play, they deprecated the loss of those bursts of hearty applause which greeted their efforts elsewhere. In

her first engagement the appearances of Mrs. Siddons were as follows :—

May 22nd, Venice Preserved.

" 24th, The Gamester.

" 26th, Venice Preserved.

" 27th, The Gamester.

" 29th, Mourning Bride.

June 1st, Douglas.

" 3rd, Isabella.

" 5th, Jane Shore.

with a magnificent piece of plate. The *Courant* tells us that during her performance of Lady Randolph "there was not a dry eye in the whole house." During the summer of 1785 she was again in Edinburgh, and played on eighteen nights, her receipts being more than handsome, averaging about £120 per night, and £200 for the *Gamester*.

Never did the old theatre behold such a *furor* as Mrs. Siddons excited, and during the time of



VIEW FROM THE BACK OF SHAKESPEARE SQUARE. (After Eschbank.)

June 7th, Douglas.

" 9th, Grecian Daughter (her benefit).

" 10th, Mourning Bride.

" 11th, Grecian Daughter (for the benefit of the Charity Workhouse).

Kay gives us an etching of her appearance as Lady Randolph, in a powdered toupee; but costume was not a study then, nor for long after. Indeed, Donaldson, in his "Recollections of an Actor," mentions, "In 1815, in Scotland, I have seen Macbeth dressed in a red officer's coat, sash, blue pants, Hessian boots, and cocked hat!"

On the 12th of June Mrs. Siddons departed for Dublin. She had shared £50 for ten nights; at her benefit she drew £350, and was presented

her second engagement nothing was thought of or talked of but her wondrous power as an actress, and vast crowds gathered not at night, but in the day, hours before the doors were open, to secure places. It became necessary to admit them at three in the afternoon; then the crowds began to gather at twelve to obtain admittance at three; and a certain set of gentlemen, by subscribing £200 as a guarantee beforehand, considered themselves very fortunate in securing a private and early entrance to the pit; and eventually the General Assembly of the Church, then in session, were compelled to arrange their meetings with reference to the appearance of Mrs. Siddons. "People came from distant places, even from

Newcastle, to witness what all spoke of with wonder. There were one day applications for 2,557 places, while there were only 630 of that kind in the house. Porters and servants had to bivouac for a night in the streets, on mats and palliasses, in order that they might get an early chance to the box-office next day. The gallery doors had to be guarded by detachments of military, and the bayonets, it is alleged, did not remain unacquainted with blood. One day a sailor climbed to a window in front of the house, for a professional and more expeditious mode of admission; but he told afterwards that he no sooner got into the port-hole than he was knocked on the head, and tumbled down the hatchway. Great quantities of hats, wigs, and shoes, pocket-books, and watches, were lost in the throng, and it was alleged that a deputation of London thieves, hearing of the business, came down to ply their trade.\*

So much were the audience moved and thrilled, that many ladies fainted, particularly when Mrs. Siddons impersonated Isabella in the *Fatal Marriage*, and she had to portray the agony of a wife, on finding, after a second marriage, that her first and most loved husband, Biron, is alive; and concerning this a curious story is told. A young Aberdeenshire heiress, Miss Gordon of Gicht, was borne out of her box in hysterics, screaming the last words she had caught from the great actress, "Oh, my Biron! my Biron!" There was something of an omen in this. In the course of a short time after she was married to a gentleman whom she had neither seen nor heard of at the epoch of Mrs. Siddons' performance, the Honourable John Byron, and to her it proved a "fatal marriage," in many respects, though she became the mother of the great Lord Byron. A lady who was present in the theatre on that night died so recently as 1855.

In 1786 there died in her apartments in Shakespeare Square an actress who had come to fulfil an engagement, Mrs. Baddeley, a lady famous in those days for her theatrical abilities, her beauty, and the miseries into which she plunged herself by her imprudence. Her Ophelia and many other characters won the admiration of Garrick; but her greatest performances were Fanny in the *Clandestine Marriage*, and Mrs. Beverley in the *Gamester*.

In 1788 a new patent was procured in the names of the Duke of Hamilton and Henry Dundas, afterwards Viscount Melville, with the consent of Mr. Jackson, at the expense of whom it was taken out.

Mr. Jackson, the patentee, having become bankrupt, Mr. Stephen Kemble leased the theatre for one year, and among those he engaged in 1792 were Mr. and Mrs. Lee Lewes, of whom Kay gives us a curious sketch, as "Widow Brisk" and the "Tight Lad" in the *Road to Ruin*. They had previously appeared in Edinburgh in 1787, and became marked favourites. Towards the close of their second season Kemble played for a few nights, while Mrs. Lewes took the parts of Lady Macbeth and Lady Randolph.

Mrs. Esten, an actress greatly admired, now became lessee and patentee, while Stephen Kemble, disappointed in his efforts to obtain entirely the Theatre Royal, procured leave to erect a rival house, which he called a circus, at the head of Leith walk, the future site of many successive theatres. Mrs. Esten succeeded in obtaining a decree of the Court of Session to restrain Kemble from producing plays; but the circus was nevertheless permanently detrimental to the old theatre, as it furnished entertainments for many years too closely akin to theatrical amusements.

The "Annual Register" for 1794 records a riot, of which this theatre was the scene, at the time when the French Revolution was at its height. The play being *Charles the First*, it excited keenly the controversial spirit of the audience, among whom a batch of Irish medical students in the pit made some of their sentiments too audible. Some gentlemen whose ideas were more monarchical, rose in the boxes, and insisted that the orchestra should play *God Save the King*, and that all should hear it standing and uncovered; but the young Irish democrats sat still, with their hats on, and much violence ensued.

Two nights afterwards a great noise was made all over the house, and it became evident that much hostility was being engendered. On the subsequent Saturday the two sets of people having each found adherents, met in the house for the express purpose of having a "row," and came armed with heavy sticks, for there was a wild feeling abroad then, and it required an outlet.

When the democrats refused to pay obeisance to the National Anthem and respond to the cry of "Off hats," they were at once attacked with vigour—chiefly by officers of the Argyleshire Fencibles—and a desperate fray ensued; heads were broken and jaws smashed on both sides, and many were borne out bleeding, and conveyed away in sedans; and conspicuous in the conflict on the Tory side towered the figure of young Walter Scott, then a newly-fledged advocate. "He never after ceased to feel a glow of pleasure at the recollection of this

\* Sketch of the Theatre Royal," privately printed.

youthful frolic; and it was a rich treat to hear him tell of a Highland solicitor's apprentice, who, on hearing some one express a hope there would be no blows, exclaimed, 'Plows, by Got!' and fell on. At a distance of thirty years, on an opportunity occurring of speaking a good word in favour of an application of this person for a situation in the Exchequer, Scott felt bound to use his influence, from a friendly feeling about the *Playhouse Row*."

In 1797 there appeared in the Edinburgh Theatre Henry Erskine Johnston, known in his time as "The Scottish Roscius," from the circumstance of his having been born in the High Street, where his father was a barber; the latter happened to be shaving Henry Erskine, when intelligence was brought that his wife had just presented him with a son, whom he named from the learned barrister then under his hands. Old Johnston afterwards kept an oyster tavern in Shakespeare Square, where he died in 1826.

Quitting a writer's office in which he was a clerk, his son came forth as an actor, his favourite parts being those of Hamlet and Norval, and he was nightly the attraction of Scottish playgoers, whom he was wont to astonish by playing the Danish Prince and Harlequin alternately. A young lady who saw him acting in a piece called *The Storming of Seringapatam* fell deeply in love with him, "and after a short, albeit impassioned courtship, she became Mrs. Johnston, although at that period only about fifteen." From Edinburgh he went to Dublin and elsewhere. We shall have to recur to him as manager of the rival theatre in the city. Prior to that his story was a painful one. His young wife became, as an actress, the rage in London, and, unhappily for him, yielded to the temptations thrown in her way—she shone for a few short years in the theatrical atmosphere of the English metropolis, and then sank into insignificance, while poor Johnston became a houseless and heart-broken wanderer.

The old Theatre Royal had an unpleasant tenant in the shape of a ghost, which made its appearance, or rather made itself heard first during the management of Mr. Jackson. His family occupied a small house over the box-office and immediately adjoining the theatre, and it was alleged that long after the latter had closed and the last candle been snuffed out, strange noises pervaded the entire building, as if the mimic scenes of the plays were being acted over again by phantoms none could see. As the story spread and grew, it caused some consternation. What the real cause of this was has never been explained, but it occurred for nights at a time.

Between 1794 and 1809 the old theatre was in a very struggling condition. The debts that encumbered it prevented the management from bringing to it really good actors, and the want of these prevented the debts from being paid off.

For the sum of £8,000 Mr. Jackson, the old manager, became the ostensible purchaser of the house in 1800, and for several years after that date it was conducted by Mr. Rock, who, though an able and excellent actor, could never succeed in making it an attractive or paying concern. "One of the few points of his reign worthy of notice was the appearance here of the *Young Roscius*, a boy who, for a brief space, passed as a great actor. The Edinburgh public viewed with intense interest this lad playing young Norval on the stage, and the venerable author of the play blubbering in the boxes, and declaring that until now his conception of the character had never been realised."

Many old favourites came in succession, whose names are forgotten now. Among these was Mrs. Charters, a sustainer, with success, of old lady parts. Her husband, who died in 1798, had been a comic actor on the same boards, in conjunction with Mr. Henderson, in 1784. He had by nature an enormous nose, and was deemed the perfection of a Bardolph, in which character Kay depicts him, with a three-cocked hat and knee breeches; and Henderson, as Falstaff, in long slop trousers, and armed with a claymore! Mrs. Charters died in 1807, and her obituary is thus recorded in the Edinburgh papers of the day:—

"Died here on Monday last, with the well-merited reputation of an honest and inoffensive woman, Mrs. Charters, who has been in this theatre for more than thirty years. She succeeded the much-admired Mrs. Webb, and for many years after that actress left the city was an excellent substitute in Lady Dacre, Juliet's Nurse, Deborah Woodcock, Dorcas, Mrs. Bunale, &c., &c."

In her own line she was worthily succeeded by Mrs. Nicol, who retired from the Theatre Royal in 1834, after a brilliant career of twenty-seven years, and died in 1835. In her old lady parts she was ably succeeded by her daughter, Miss Nicol, whose name is still remembered with honour and regard by all the old playgoers of Edinburgh.

Another Edinburgh favourite for upwards of thirty years was Mr. Woods, the leading actor, whom the public strenuously opposed every attempt on the part of the management to change. He retired from the boards in April, 1802, intending to open an elocution class in the city, but died in the December of that year. For his benefit in 1784, he appeared as "Young Riot" in a local

musical farce, entitled *Hallow Fair*, which is not included in the "Biographia Dramatica." Burns wrote a prologue for him, attracted to him by his having been a friend of his own predecessor, Robert Fergusson.

With the old house whose history we have been recording all the eminent literary men of Edinburgh whose names have been of note between 1769 and 1859 have been intimately associated, and none more than he who was the monarch of them all—Sir Walter Scott. A lover of the drama from his earliest years, as soon as he had a home of his own the chief objects of his lavish hospitality were the leading actors, and among the first of his theatrical friends was the famous tragedian Charles

Young; and soon after he was on intimate terms with Mrs. Siddons and Mr. John Kemble. When the twenty-one years of the patent expired in 1809, it was transferred to certain assignees, two of whom were Mr. Walter Scott, and Henry Mackenzie author of "The Man of Feeling;" and it was at the suggestion of the former that Mr. Henry Siddons, only son of the great tragedienne, applied for the patent, which was readily granted to him and at the same time an arrangement was entered into for the possession of the house.

Now, indeed, commenced the first part of the most brilliant history of the Edinburgh Theatre Royal, the second being unquestionably that of the management of Mr. R. H. Wyndham.

## CHAPTER XLIV.

### EAST SIDE OF NORTH BRIDGE (*continued*).

Old Theatre Royal—Management of Mr. Henry Siddons—Mr. Murray—Miss O'Neill—Production of *Rob Roy*—Visit of George IV. to the Theatre—Edinburgh Theatrical Fund—Scott and his Novels—Retirement of Mr. Murray—The Management of Mr. and Mrs. Wyndham—The Closing Night of the Theatre.

MR. SIDDONS' powers as an actor were very respectable; moreover, he was a scholar, a man of considerable literary ability, and a well-bred gentleman; and though last, not least, he possessed a patrimony which he was not afraid to risk in the new speculation. He hoped that his mother and his uncle John would aid him by their powerful influence, and to have them acting together on these boards would be a great event in the history of the theatre. Mr. Siddons agreed to be content with half the profits of the house and a free benefit, Kemble asked the same terms, and added that he would be glad to come North and play for some time. "It was indeed a brilliant time for the house when it had Mr. H. Siddons for Archer, Belcour, and Charles Surface; Mr. Terry for Sir Peter Teazle, Sir Anthony Absolute, and Lord Ogleby; Mr. Mason for stern guardians and snappish old men in general; William Murray for almost anything requiring cleverness and good sense; Mr. Berry for low comedy; Mrs. Henry Siddons equally for Belvidera and Lady Teazle; Mrs. Nicol for Mrs. Malaprop, and an endless variety of inexorable old aunts and duennas; and Mrs. William Peirson for Audrey, Priscilla Tomboy, and William in Rosina; when Mrs. Joanna Bailie had a play brought out on our stage, prologued by Henry Mackenzie and epilogued by Scott, and whenever the scenery and decorations were in the hands of artists of such reputation as Mr. Nas-

myth and Mr. J. F. Williams. Mrs. Siddons came in March, 1810, and performed a round of her great parts—still appearing in the eyes of our fathers the female Milton of the stage, as she had done twenty-six years before in the eyes of their fathers. Mr. John Kemble," continues this account, written in 1859, "stalked on in July, the first time he had graced the boards for ten years. But the glories of the season were not yet exhausted. The hand some Irish Johnstone, with his inimitable Major O'Flaherty and Looney McTwolter; Emery, with his face like a great copper kettle, in such English rustic parts as Tyke and John Lump; Mrs. Jordan with her romping vivacity and good-nature in the Country Girl and other such parts, were among the rich treats presented to the Edinburgh public in 1810."

In 1815 Mr. Henry Siddons, after conducting the theatre in the same spirited and generous manner, died prematurely of hard work and anxiety, deeply regretted by the Edinburgh people of every class, and his mother, who had been living in retirement, and was then in her sixty-second year, appeared for a few nights for the benefit of his family, whom he left somewhat impoverished.

His widow carried on the house in conjunction with her brother, the well-known William Murray, as stage-manager, and it continued still to possess an excellent company. The beautiful young Irish

girl, Miss Elizabeth O'Neill, "who seemed designed by nature to catch the tragic mantle as it fell from Mrs. Siddons' shoulders," appeared in the theatre in August, 1815—two months after Waterloo. The characters in which she always achieved the greatest success were Juliet, Mrs. Haller, Jane Shore, and Mrs. Beverley, and on the occasion of her first appearance, the old scene of the Siddons *furor* was renewed, and porters and livery servants

In 1816 Edmund Kean appeared in Edinburgh, to startle and delight the people by his vivid action, then came the elder Matthews, with his wondrous humour and power of mimicry, and then Miss Stephens and Mr and Mrs Charles Kemble, yet with all this excellence the management did not prosper, and when the season of 1819 opened, matters seemed so gloomy that it was doubtful if Mrs. Henry Siddons could collect the £2,000



THE OLD THEATRE ROYAL (From a Drawing by T. H. Shepherd published in 1829.)

were again seen bivouacking all night, on straw or pallets, under the portico of the house, or in the adjacent square, for the purpose of securing seats for their employers the moment the doors were open. Again it became a recognised amusement for people to proceed thither after breakfast to see, about the time of the box office unclosing, the fights that ensued between the liverymen and the irritable Highland porters.

But in the year 1819 Miss O'Neill quitted the stage, and became eventually Lady Becher of Ballygiblin Castle, in the county of Cork.

*The Appeal*, a tragedy by John Galt, was played in February, 1818, and Scott wrote an epilogue thereto, expressly for Mrs. Henry Siddons

which she had to pay yearly as rent and purchase money.

Thus one day she was shocked and startled by a harsh, cold letter, in the usual legal form, arresting all moneys in her hands until certain claims were settled, at a time when she had scarcely a penny wherewith to make payment.

It was at this desperate crisis that Walter Scott came to the rescue. His *Rob Roy*, operatically dramatised, had already proved a marked success at Covent Garden, and it was now prepared for the Edinburgh Theatre, with an excellent cast and much new and, what was then deemed, valuable scenery. On the 15th of February, 1819, the play was first presented to the Edinburgh audience, and made one



of the greatest hits in the annals of the Theatre Royal; and it was announced in the following day's advertisements that the success had been so triumphant that it would be repeated "every evening till further notice;" yet it ran only forty-one nights consecutively, which seems trifling when compared with the run of many pieces in London.

But the national element delighted the people; Mr. Homerton's dignified Rob Roy, Mrs. Renaud's tragic dignity as Helen Macgregor (always an unattractive part), Duff's Dougal Cratur, Murray's Captain Thornton, and more than all, the Bailie Jarvie of old Mackay (who now rests in the Calton burying-ground) were loudly extolled. Sir Walter Scott was in the boxes with his whole family, and his loud laugh was heard from time to time, and he ever after declared that the Bailie was a complete realisation of his own conception of the character. All the Waverley dramas, as they were named, followed in quick succession; the Scottish feeling of the plays, and the music that went with them, completed their success; the treasury was filled well-nigh to overflowing, and Mrs. Henry Siddons had no more difficulties with her patent or lease.

When George IV. visited Edinburgh in August, 1822, he ordered *Rob Roy* to be played at this house on the 27th, and scenes such as it had never presented before were exhibited both within and without the edifice. At an early hour in the morning vast crowds assembled at every door, and the rain which fell in torrents till six in the evening had no effect in diminishing their numbers, and when the doors were slowly opened, the rush for a moment was so tremendous that most serious apprehensions were entertained, but no lives were lost; while the boxes had been let in such a way as to preclude all reasonable ground of complaint. In the pit and galleries the audience were so closely packed, that it would have been difficult, according to eye-witnesses, to introduce even the point of a sabre between any two. All the wealth, rank, and beauty of Scotland, filled the boxes, and the waving of tartan plaids and plumed bonnets produced hurricanes of acclamation long before the arrival of the king, who occupied a species of throne in the centre box, and behind him stood the Marquis of Montrose, the Earl of Fife, and other nobles. He wore the uniform of a marshal, and at his entrance nearly the entire audience joined the orchestra in the national anthem.

On this night Mr. Calcraft (long a Dublin manager, and formerly an officer of cavalry) played Rob Roy, and Mrs. Henry Siddons was Diana Vernon; but the king was observed to applaud

the faithful Dougal as much as any of the others. Up to 1851 *Rob Roy* had been acted about four hundred times in this house; but at Perth, in 1829, it was represented by Ryder's company for five hundred nights! One of the original cast of the play was "Old Miss Nicol," as she was named in latter years, who then took the part of the girl Mattie.

To attempt to enumerate all the stars who came in quick succession to the boards of the old Royal (as the facilities for travel by land and sea increased) would be a vain task, but the names of a few may suffice. Between 1820 and 1830 there were Vandenhoff, for tragedy, as Sir Giles Overreach, and Sir William Wallace in the *Battle of Falkirk*, &c.; Jones for Mercutio and Charles Surface; the bulky Denham with his thick voice to play James VI. to Murray's Jingling Geordie; Mason and Stanley, both excellent in comedy, though well-nigh forgotten now; and always, of course, Mrs. Henry Siddons, "beautiful and graceful, with a voice which seemed to penetrate the audience;" and there were Mrs. Renaud for tragedy, Mrs. Nicol as a leading old lady, Miss Paton, and Miss Noel with her Scottish melodies; while the scenery amid which they moved came from the master-hand of David Roberts, "and the orchestra included the hautbois of Mr. T. Fraser, which had witched the soul and flooded the eyes of Burn." Among other favourites was Miss M. Tree (sister of Ellen the future Mrs. Charles Kean), who used to delight the playgoers with her Rosina in the *Barber of Seville*, or the *Maid of Milan*, till she retired in 1825, on her marriage with Mr. Bradshaw, some time M.P. for Canterbury.

Terry, Sinclair, and Russell, were among the stars in those days. The last took such characters as Sir Giles Overreach. On his re-appearance in 1823, after several years' absence, "to our surprise," says the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, "the audience was thin, but among them we noticed Sir Walter Scott." Thither came also Maria Foote (afterwards Countess of Harrington), who took with success such parts as Rosalind, Imogen, and Beatrice.

The Edinburgh Theatrical Fund, for the relief of decayed actors, was instituted at this prosperous time, and at its first dinner in February, 1827, under the presidency of Lord Meadowbank, Sir Walter Scott, ever the player's friend, avowed himself, as most readers know, the author of the "Waverley Novels." Though it had been shrewdly suspected by many before, "the rapturous feeling of the company, on hearing the momentous secret let forth from his own lips," says a writer, "no one

who was present can ever forget. Scott, it may be remarked, was sensible to various impulses which are utterly blank to other men. There were associations about Mr. Murray and his sister as 'come of Scotland's gentle bluid' and the grandchildren of a man prominent in the Forty-five which helped not a little to give him that strong and peculiar interest in the Theatre Royal, which he constantly displayed from 1809 downwards."

The association here referred to was the circumstance that Mrs. Henry Siddons and her brother were the grandchildren of John Murray of Broughton, who was secretary to Prince Charles Edward, and gained a somewhat unenviable notoriety by turning king's evidence against Lord Lovat and others, when he was taken prisoner subsequent to the battle of Culloden.

Mrs. Henry Siddons' twenty-one years of the patent ended in 1830; but her completion of twenty-one annual payments of £2,000 to the representatives of Mr. John Jackson made her sole proprietor of the house; and on the 29th of March she took farewell of the Edinburgh stage, in the character of Lady Townley in the *Provoked Husband*, and retired into private life, carrying with her, as we are told, "the good wishes of all in Edinburgh, for they had recognised in her not merely the accomplished actress, but the good mother, the refined lady, and the irreproachable member of society."

Her brother, Mr. Murray, obtaining a renewal of the patent, leased the house from her for twenty-one years; but, save *Rob Roy* and *Guy Rannering*, the day of the Waverley dramas was past, yet to him the speculation did not prove an unsuccessful one; and the supernumerary house, the Adelphi in Leith Walk, was alike a rival, and a dead weight on his hands, till, on the expiring of his lease, he retired, in the zenith of his favour with the Edinburgh public, in 1851, and with a moderate competency, withdrew to St. Andrews, where he died not long after.

After being let for a brief period to Mr. Lloyd the comedian, Mr. Rollinson, and Mr. Leslie, all of whom failed to make the speculation a paying one, it passed into the management of its last lessees, Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Wyndham, the greatest favourites, as managers, and in public and private life, that the Royal had ever possessed, not even excepting Mrs. Henry Siddons.

Mr. Wyndham, a gentleman by education and position, who adopted the stage by taste as a profession, came to Edinburgh, about 1845, as a member of Mr. Murray's company, to support Miss Helen Faucit, and after being in management at

the Adelphi, he obtained that of the Royal in succession to Messrs. Rollinson and Leslie, and, as managed by him and Mrs. Wyndham, it speedily attained the rank and character of one of the best-conducted theatres in the three kingdoms. The former, always brilliant in light or genteel comedy, was equally pleasing and powerful in his favourite delineations of Irish character, while Mrs. Wyndham was ever most touching and pathetic in all tender, wifely, and motherly parts, and could take with equal ease and excellence Peg Woffington or Mrs. Haller, Widow Smilie or Lady Macbeth.

Under their *régime*, the scenery and properties attained a pitch of artistic excellence of which their predecessors could have had not the slightest conception; and some of the Waverley dramas were set upon the stage with a magnificence and correctness never before attempted. While pleasing the public with a constant variety, these, the last lessees of this famous old theatre, did much for the intellectual enlightenment of Edinburgh by producing upon their boards all the leading members of the profession from London, and also giving the citizens the full benefit of Italian opera almost yearly.

Kean and Robson, Helen Faucit, old Paul Bedford in conjunction with Wright, and latterly J. L. Toole, the unfortunate Gustavus V. Brooke, Madame Celeste, Alfred Wigan, Mrs. Stirling, Sothorn, Mesdames Ristori and Titiens, Mario and Giuglini, and all the most famous artistes in every branch of the modern drama, actors and singers, were introduced to the Edinburgh public again and again; and, though last, not least in stature, Sir William Don, of Newton-Don, "the eccentric Baronet."

In recognition of these services, and their own worth, a magnificent service of plate was presented to them in 1869. It was unquestionably under Mr. Wyndham's management that the Edinburgh stage was first raised to a perfect level with the stages of London and Dublin, and it was under his auspices that both Toole the comedian and Irving the tragedian first made a name on the boards.

The acquisition of the site occupied by the old theatre by the Government for the sum of £5,000 for the erection of a new General Post Office thereon, though the latter had long been most necessary, and the former was far from being an ornament to the city, was a source of some excitement, and of much regret to all old playgoers; and when the night came that the curtain of fate was to close upon it, after a chequered course of ninety years,

and a farewell address from the pen of Lord Neaves was to be delivered, the house was filled in every quarter; and to those who remember it the bill of the last performance may not be without interest.

# THEATRE ROYAL, EDINBURGH.

Sole Lessee, R. H. Wyndham, 95, Princes Street.

*Final Closing of this Theatre*

On Wednesday, May 25th, 1859.

*After which Mr. Wyndham will Deliver*

## A FAREWELL ADDRESS.

*To be followed by the Laughable Fares of*

HIS LAST LEGS.

Felix O'Callaghan, a man of genius, by Mr. Wyndham—Charles, by Mr. Irving—Mr. Rivers, by Mr. Errser Jones—Dr. Banks, by Mr. Foote—John, by Mr. R. Saker—Thomas, by Mr. Davis—Mrs. Montague, by Miss Nicol—Julia, by Miss Jones—Mrs. Bank, by Mrs. E. Jones—Betty, by Miss S. Davis.



MR. CLINCH AND MRS. YATES AS THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BRAGANZA. (After Kay.)

The Performance will commence with the celebrated Comedy written by Tom Taylor and Charles Reade, Esq., entitled

## MASKS AND FACES.

*Sir Charles Pomander, by Mr. Wyndham.*

Triplet, by Mr. Edmund Glover, Theatre Royal, Glasgow—Ernest Vane, by Mr. E. D. Lyons—Colley Cibber, by Mr. Foote—Quin, by Mr. Errser Jones—Snarl, by Mr. Fisher—Call Boy, Mr. R. Saker—Soaper, by Mr. Irving—Hunsdon, by Mr. Vandenhoff—Colander, by Mr. James—Burdoch, by Mr. Carroll.

*Peg Woffington, by Mrs. Wyndham.*

Kitty Clive, by Miss M. Davis—Mrs. Triplet, by Mrs. E. Jones—Roxalana, by Miss M. Foote—Maid, by Miss Thompson—Mabel Vane, by Miss Sophia Miles.

*After which the National Drama of*

## CRAMOND BRIG.

*James V., King of Scotland by Mr. G. Melville.*

Jock Howieson, by Mr. Fisher—Birkie of that ilk, by Mr. Rogerson—Murdoch, by Mr. Wallace—Officer, by Mr. Banks—Grime, by Mr. Douglas—Tam Maxwell, by Mr. Davis—Tibbie Howieson, by Miss Nicol—Marion, by Miss M. Davis, in which character she will sing the incidental song,

*"A Kiss ahint the Door."*

To Conclude with a Moving and Removing Valedictory Sketch,

*Mr. Wyndham, by himself—Mrs. Wyndham, by herself.*  
Spirit of the Past, Miss Nicol—Spirit of the Future, Miss Davis.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM BY THE ENTIRE COMPANY.



THE OLD THEATRE ROYAL, IN PROCESS OF DIMOLITION

## CHAPTER XIV

## EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH RIDGE (continued)

[illegible]

THE demolition of the old theatre was proceeded with rapidly, and with it passed away Shakspeare Square, on its southern and eastern sides, a semi rectangle, alike mean in architecture and disreputable in character, and on the sites of both, and of Dingwall's ancient castle, was erected the present General Post Office, a magnificent building, prior to describing which we propose to give some memorabilia of the development of that institution in Edinburgh.

The year 1635 was the epoch of a regular postal system in Scotland, under the Scottish ministry of Charles I. This system was probably limited to the road between Edinburgh and Berwick, the main object being to establish a regular communication with London. Mails were despatched once and sometimes twice weekly, and the postage of a single letter was 6d. From Rushworth's "Collec-

tions it appears that in that year Thomas Witherings, his Majesty's Postmaster of England and foreign parts, was directed to adjust "one running post or two, to run day and night between Edinburgh and London, to go thither and back again in six days, and to take with them all such letters as shall be directed to any post town on the said road." Three years after these posts became unsafe, the bearers were waylaid and robbed of their letters, for political reasons.

In 1642, on the departure of the Scottish troops to protect the Ulster colonists, and put down the rebellion in Ireland, a line of posts was established between Edinburgh and Port Patrick, where John McCaug, the postmaster, was allowed by the Privy Council to have a "post bark", and in 1649 the posts were improved by Cromwell, who removed many, if not all, of the Scottish officials. In 1654

the postage to England was lowered to 4d. ; and to 2d. for a single letter within eighty miles. On the 16th of December, 1661, Charles II. re-appointed Robert Muir "sole keeper of the letter-office in Edinburgh," from which he had been dismissed by Cromwell, and £200 was given him to build a packet-boat for the Irish mail.

In 1662 Sir William Seaton was succeeded as Postmaster-General of Scotland by Patrick Grahame of Inchbraikie, surnamed the *Black*, who bore the Garter at the funeral of Montrose, and who, according to the Privy Seal Register, was to hold that office for life, with a salary of £500 Scots yearly. In 1669 the Privy Council established a post between Edinburgh and Aberdeen, twice weekly, "wind and weather serving." A letter was conveyed forty miles (about sixty English) for 2s. Scots ; and for one an ounce weight the charge was 7s. 6d. Scots ; for every single letter carried above eighty miles within Scotland the rate was 4s. Scots ; while for one an ounce weight 10s. Scots (*i.e.* 10d. English) was charged. In 1678 the coach with letters between Edinburgh and Glasgow was drawn by six horses, and performed the journey there and back in six days !

In 1680 Robert Muir, the postmaster, was imprisoned by the Council for publishing the *News Letter*, before it was revised by their clerk. "What offended them was, that it bore that the Duke of Lauderdale's goods were shipping for France, whither his Grace was shortly to follow, which was a mistake."

In 1685 the intelligence of the death of Charles II., who died on the 7th of February, was received at Edinburgh about one in the morning of the 10th, by express from London. In 1688 it occupied three months to convey the tidings of the abdication of James VII. to the Orkneys.

In 1689 the Post-office was put upon a new footing, being sold by roup "to John Blair, apothecary in Edinburgh, he undertaking to carry on the entire business on various rates of charge for letters, and to pay the Government 5,100 merks (about £255 sterling) yearly for seven years." And in October that year William Mean of the Letter Office was committed to the Tolbooth, for retaining certain Irish letters until the payment therefor was given him. In 1690 the Edinburgh post-bag was robbed in the lonely road near Cockburnspath, and that the mails frequently came in with the seals broken was a source of indignation to the Privy Council. In 1691, John Seton (brother of Sir George Seton of Garlton) was committed to the Castle for robbing the post-bag at Hedderwick Muir of the mail with Government papers.

To improve the system of correspondence throughout the kingdom, the Scottish Parliament, in 1695, passed a new "Act for establishing a General Post-office in Edinburgh, under a Postmaster-General, who was to have the exclusive privilege of receiving and despatching letters, it being only allowed that carriers should undertake that business on lines where there was no regular post until such should be established. The rates were fixed at 2s. Scots for a single letter within fifty Scottish miles, and for greater distances in proportion. It was also ordained that there should be a weekly post to Ireland, by means of a packet at Port Patrick, the expense of which was to be charged on the Scottish office. By the same law the Postmaster and his deputies were to have posts, and furnish post-horses along all the chief roads to all persons 'at three shillings Scots for ilk horse-hire for postage, for every Scottish mile,' including the use of furniture and a guide. It would appear that on this footing the Post-office in Scotland was not a gainful concern, for in 1698 Sir Robert Sinclair of Stevenston had a grant of the entire revenue with a pension of £300 sterling per annum, under the obligation to keep up the posts, and after a little while gave up the charge as finding it disadvantageous. . . . Letters coming from London for Glasgow arrived at Edinburgh in the first place, and were thence dispatched westward at such times as might be *convenient*." \*

The inviolability of letters at the Post-office was not held in respect as a principle. In July, 1701, two letters from Brussels, marked each with a cross, were taken by the Postmaster to the Lord Advocate, who deliberately opened them, and finding them "of no value, being only on private business," desired them to be delivered to those to whom they were addressed ; and so lately as 1738, the Earl of Ilay, in writing to Sir Robert Walpole from Edinburgh, said, "I am forced to send this letter by a servant, twenty miles out of town, where the Duke of Argyle's attorney *cannot handle it* ;" and in 1748 General Bland, commanding the forces in Scotland, complained to the Secretary of State "that his letters at the Edinburgh Post-office were *opened by order of a noble duke*."

From 1704 till the year of the Union, George Main, jeweller, in Edinburgh, accounted "for the duties of the Post-office within Scotland, leased him by the Lords of the Treasury and Exchequer in Scotland" during the three years ending at Whit Sunday, for the yearly rent of 21,500 merks Scots, or £1,194 8s. 10d. sterling, subject to de-

duction for expenses, among which are £60 for the Irish packet boat.

In 1708 the whole business of the General Post-office was managed by seven persons—viz., George Main, manager for Scotland, who held his commission from the Postmaster-General of Great Britain, with a salary of £200 per annum; his accountant, £50 per annum; one clerk, £50; his assistant, £25; three letter-runners at 5s. each per week. The place in which it was conducted was a common shop.

In 1710 an Act of the newly-constituted British Parliament united the Scottish Post-office with that of the English and Irish under one Postmaster-General, but ordained "that a chief letter office be kept at Edinburgh, and the packet boats between Donaghadee and Port Patrick be still maintained." The postage of a letter to London was then raised to 6d. sterling.

In 1715, James Anderson, W.S., the well-known editor of *Diplomata Scotie*, obtained the office of Deputy Postmaster-General, in succession to Main, the jeweller. When he took office, on the 12th of July, there was not a single horse post in Scotland, foot-runners being the conveyers of the mails, even so far north as Thurso, and so far westward as Inverary.

"After his appointment," to quote Lang's privately-printed history of the Post-office in Scotland, "Mr. Anderson directed his attention to the establishment of the horse posts on the Western road from Edinburgh. The first regular horse post in Scotland appears to have been from Edinburgh to Stirling; it started for the first time on the 29th November, 1715. It left Stirling at 2 o'clock afternoon, each Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, reaching Edinburgh in time for the night mail for England. In March, 1717, the first horse post between Edinburgh and Glasgow was established, and we have details of the arrangement in a memorial addressed to Lord Cornwallis and James Craggs, who jointly filled the office of Postmaster-General of Great Britain. The memorial states, that 'the horse post will set out for Edinburgh each Tuesday and Thursday at 8 o'clock at night, and on Sunday about 8 or 9 in the morning, and be in Glasgow—a distance of 36 miles (Scots) by the post road at that time—by 6 in the morning, on Wednesday and Friday in summer, and by 8 in winter, and both winter and summer, will be in on Sunday night.'"

At this period it took double the time for a mail to perform the journey between the two capitals that it did in the middle of the 17th century. When established by Charles I., three days was the

time allowed for special couriers between Edinburgh and London.

In 1715 it required six days for the post to perform the journey. This can easily be seen, says Mr. Lang, by examining the post-marks on the letters of that time.

In that year Edinburgh had direct communication with sixty post-towns in Scotland, and in August the total sum received for letters passing to and from these offices and the capital was only £44 3s. 1d. The postage on London letters in the same month amounted to £157 3s. 2d.

In 1717 Mr. Anderson was superseded at Edinburgh by Sir John Inglis as Deputy-Postmaster-General in Scotland, from whom all appointments in that country were held direct. The letter-bags, apart from foot-pads and robbers, were liable to strange contingencies. Thus, in November, 1725, the bag which left Edinburgh was never heard of after it passed Berwick—boy, horse, and bag, alike vanished, and were supposed to have been swallowed up in the sands between Coquet-mouth and Holy Island. A mail due at Edinburgh one evening, at the close of January, 1734, was found in the Tyne at Haddington, in which the post-boy had perished; and another due on the 11th October of the following year was long of reaching its destination. "It seems the post-boy," according to the *Caledonian Mercury*, "who made the stage between Dunbar and Haddington, being in liquor, fell off. The horse was afterwards found at Linplum, but without mail, saddle, or bridle."

The immediate practical business of the Post-office of Edinburgh (according to the "Domestic Annals"), down to the reign of George I., appears to have been conducted in a shop in the High Street, by a succession of persons named Main or Mein, "the descendants of the lady who threw her stool at the bishop's head in St. Giles's in 1637." Thence it was promoted to a flat on the east side of the Parliament Close; then again, in the reign of George III., behind the north side of the Cowgate. The little staff we have described as existing in 1715 remained unchanged in number till 1748, when there were added an "apprehender of letter-carriers," and a "clerk to the Irish correspondents." "There is a faithful tradition in the office, which I see no reason to doubt," says Dr. Chambers, "that one day, not long after the Rebellion of 1745, the bag came to Edinburgh with but *one* letter in it, being *one* addressed to the British Linen Company."

In 1730 the yearly revenue of the Edinburgh Office was £1,194, according to "The State of Scotland;" but Arnot puts the sum at £5,399.

In 1741 Hamilton of Innerwick was Deputy

Postmaster General, and nine years after, the mails began to be conveyed from stage to stage by relays of fresh horses, and different post boys, to the principal places in Scotland, but the greater portion of the bags were conveyed by foot runners, for the condition of the roads from Edinburgh would not admit of anything like rapid travelling. The most direct, at times, lay actually in the channels of streams. The common carrier from Edinburgh to Selkirk, 38 miles, required a fort-

tively, and 1763 beheld a further improvement when the London mails were increased from three to five. Previously they had travelled in such a dilatory manner, that in the winter the letters which left London on Tuesday night were not distributed in Edinburgh till the Sunday following *between sermons*.

In 1765 there was a penny postage for letters borne one stage, and in 1771, when Oliphant of Rossie was Deputy Postmaster General, the Edin-



THE POST OFFICE IN WATERLOO PLACE (From an engraving by T. H. Shepherd published in 1829)

night for his journey there and back, the channel of the Gala, which, for a considerable distance was parallel with the road, being when not flooded, the track chosen as most level and easy for the traveller. At this period and long before, there was a set of horse "cadgers" who plied regularly between different places, and in defiance of the laws, carried more letters than ever passed through the Edinburgh office in those days.

In 1757 the revenue amounted to £10623 according to Arnot, in that year the mail was upon the road from London 87 hours, and, oddly enough, from Edinburgh back 131 hours, but by the influence of the Convention of Royal Burghs, these hours were reduced to 82 and 85 respec-

burgh staff consisted of ten persons, exclusive of the letter carriers.

In 1776 the first stage coach came to Edinburgh on the 10th April, having performed the journey from London in sixty hours. In the same year the penny post was established in Scotland, by Peter Williamson to whom we have referred elsewhere. This man was the Rowland Hill of his day, and the postal authorities seeing the importance of such a source of revenue, gave him a pension for the goodwill of the business, and the Scottish penny posts were afterwards confirmed to the General Post by an Act of Parliament in 1799.

In 1781 the number of post towns in Scotland consisted of 140, and the staff at Edinburgh



THE GENERAL POST OFFICE, EDINBURGH



amounted to twenty-three persons, including letter-carriers. Ten years afterwards thirty-one were required, and in 1794 the Inland Office, including the letter-carriers' branch, consisted of twenty-one persons.

The Edinburgh Post-office, for a long time after its introduction and establishment, was conducted solely with a view to the continuance and security of the correspondence of the people, and thus it frequently had assistance from the Scottish Treasury; and if we except the periods of civil war, when a certain amount of surveillance was exercised by the Government, as a measure of State security, the office seems to have been conducted with integrity and freedom from abuse.

In 1796, Thomas Elder of Forneth, at one time Lord Provost, was Deputy-Postmaster-General; in 1799 and 1802, William Robertson, and Trotter of Castletaw, succeeded to that office respectively. It was held in 1807 by the Hon. Francis Gray, afterwards fifteenth Lord Gray of Kinfans; and in 1810 the staff amounted to thirty-five persons, letter-carriers included.

In April, 1713, the Post-office was in the first flat of a house opposite the Tolbooth, on the north side of the High Street—Main's shop, as we have stated. At a later period it was in the first floor of a house near the Cross, above an alley, to which it gave the name of the Post-office Close. From thence it was removed to the Parliament Close, where its internal fittings were like those of a shop, the letters were dealt across a counter, and the whole out-door business of the city was conducted by one letter-carrier. After being for a time in Lord Covington's house, it was removed to one already mentioned on the west side of the North Bridge, and from thence to a new office (now an hotel) on the Regent Bridge in 1821. For ten years before that period James twelfth Earl of Caithness was Deputy-Postmaster-General; and in the year preceding the removal there, the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* says, that by order of the Depute Lyon King of Arms, and the Usher of the White Rod, the new coat of the royal arms of Britain, put thereon, was torn down and removed, "as derogatory to the independence of Scotland," *i.e.*, wrongly quartered, giving England precedence. Another and correct coat of arms was substituted, and remained there till the present building was erected.

In 1823, Sir David Wedderburn, Bart., of Bal lendeane, was appointed Postmaster-General of Scotland, an office afterwards abolished.

In 1856 the establishment on the Regent Bridge consisted of 225 officials, of whom 114 were letter-carriers, porters, and messengers, and the average

number of letters passing through and delivered in Edinburgh daily was estimated at 75,000. The number of mail-bags received daily was 518, and the number despatched 350. The amount of money orders issued and paid showed a sum of £1,758,079 circulating annually through the department in Scotland.

On the 23rd of October, 1861, the foundation-stone of the new General Post-office was laid, on the east side of the North Bridge, by the late Prince Consort, amid much state and ceremony, the letter-carriers, all clad for the first time in blue, in lieu of their old scarlet, being drawn up in double rank within the galleries which occupied the site of the old Theatre and which were crowded by a fashionable audience. This was almost the last act of Prince Albert's public life, as he died two months subsequently. At his suggestion the crowning row of vases was added to the façade.

As finished now, it stands behind a pavement of Caithness slabs forty-three feet broad, and is from designs by the late Mr. Robert Matheson, of H.M. Board of Works in Scotland. Built of fine white stone from Binny quarry, in the neighbourhood of the city, its style of architecture is a moderately rich Italian type. It presents an ornamental main front of 140 feet to Princes Street, and another equally ornamental front, or flank, of 180 feet to the North Bridge, with a rear-front, which is also ornate, of 140 feet, to the deep valley where once the North Loch lay.

The flank to the Waterloo Place Buildings is somewhat plainer than the others, and measures 160 feet. The edifice rises in the central part of each of these three ornamental fronts, to the height of two stately storeys above the street level, and has at the corners wings, or towers, a storey higher, and crowned with rows of massive and beautifully sculptured vases. On the south front it descends to the depth of 125 feet from the summit of these towers, and thus presents a very imposing appearance.

This office, the chief one for all Scotland, cost, including the site, £120,000, and was first opened for business on the 7th of May, 1866. The entire staff, from the Surveyor-General downwards, consisted in 1880 of 429 persons; whose salaries, wages, and allowances, amounted to £38,427. Connected, of course, with the head office, there were in Edinburgh, Leith, and the suburbs, in 1880, receiving-offices and pillar-boxes.\*

\* By a Government return it appears that in 1880 there passed through the Scottish Post-office 101,968,300 letters, 12,264,700 post-cards, 22,145,500 book-parcels, and 14,570,700 newspapers. In the same year, the average number of letters delivered to each person in the population of the three kingdoms was 35 in England, 26 in Scotland, and 13 in Ireland.

## CHAPTER XLVI.

EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH BRIDGE (*concluded*).

The Old Orphan Hospital—Its Foundation, Object, and Removal—Lady Glenorchy's Chapel—Her Dispute with the Presbytery—Dr Seab Jones—Demolition of the Chapel and School—Old Physic Gardens Formed—The Gardens—Sir Andrew Balfour—James Sutherland—Inundated in 1689—Sutherland's Effort to Improve the Gardens—Professor Hope.

ABOUT 100 feet east of the bridge, and the same distance south of the theatre which Whitefield to his dismay saw built in the park of the Orphan Hospital, stood the latter edifice, the slender, pointed spire of which was a conspicuous object in this quarter of the city.

A hospital for the maintenance and education of orphan children was originally designed by Mr. Andrew Gardiner, merchant, and some other citizens, in 1732. The suggestion met with the approval of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, then located in what was anciently named Bassandyn's Close; and it was moreover assisted by liberal subscriptions and collections at the church doors. At first a house was hired, and thirty orphans placed in it. According to Maitland, in November, 1733, the hospital was founded; it stood 340 feet north-west of the Trinity College Church, and in its formation a part of the burial ground attached to the latter was used.

In 1738 the Town Council granted the hospital a seal of cause, and in 1742 they obtained royal letters patent creating it a corporation, by which most of the Scottish officers of State, and the heads of different societies in Edinburgh, are constituent members. This charity is so extensive in its benevolence, that children from any part of the British Empire have the right of admission, so far as the funds will admit—indigence, and the number of children in a poor family being the best title to it.

None, however, are admitted under the age of seven, or retained after they are past fourteen, as at that time of life the managers are seldom at a loss to dispose of them, "the young folks," says Arnot, "choosing to follow trades, and the public entertaining so good an opinion of the manner in which they have been brought up, that manufacturers and others are very ready to take them into their employment. There are about," he adds, in 1779, "one hundred orphans maintained in this hospital."

This number was increased in 1781, when Mr. Thomas Tod, merchant in Edinburgh, became treasurer. It was then greatly enlarged for the better accommodation of the children, "and to enable them to perform a variety of work, from the

produce of which the expenses of their education and maintenance were lessened, and healthy and cheerful exercise furnished, suitable to their years."

"It is remarkable," says Kincaid, "that from January, 1784, to January, 1787, out of from 130 to 140 young children not one has died. A particular account of the rise, progress, present state, and intended enlargement of this hospital was published by the treasurer (Mr. Tod), wherein is a print of the elevation, with two wings, which the managers intend to build so soon as the funds will permit, when there will be room for 200 orphans."

In its slender spire hung two bells, and therein also stood the ancient clock of the Netherbow Port, now in use at the Dean.

The revenues were inconsiderable, and it was chiefly supported by benefactions and collections made at the churches in the city. Howard, the philanthropist, who visited it more than once, and made himself acquainted with the constitution and management of this hospital, acknowledged it to be one of the best and most useful charities in Europe. A portrait of him hangs in the new Orphan Hospital at the Dean, the old building we have described having been removed in 1845 by the operations of the North British Railway, and consequently being now a thing of the past, like the chapel of Lady Glenorchy, which shared the same fate at the same time.

This edifice stood in the low ground, between the Orphan Hospital and the Trinity College Church, about 300 feet eastward of the north arch of the Bridge.

Wilhelmina Maxwell, Viscountess Dowager of John Viscount Glenorchy, who was a kind of Scottish Countess of Huntingdon in her day, was the foundress of this chapel, which was a plain, lofty stone building, but neatly fitted up within with two great galleries, that ran round the sides of the edifice, and was long a conspicuous object to all who crossed the Bridge. It was seated for 2,000 persons, and the middle was appropriated to the poor, who sat there gratis to the number of some hundreds. "Whether," says Arnot, "before Lady Glenorchy founded this institution there were churches sufficient for accommodating the inhabitants we shall not pretend to determine. Such, indeed, is the demand for seats, and so little are

they occupied when obtained, that we are tempted to conclude the genteeler part of the congregations in Edinburgh deem the essential duties of religion to be concentrated in holding and paying rent for so many feet square in the inside of a church."

Lady Glenorchy, whom Kincaid describes as "a young lady eminent for good sense and every accomplishment that could give dignity to her rank, and for the superior piety which made her conspicuous as a Christian," in 1772 feued a piece of ground from the managers of the Orphan Hospital, at a yearly duty of £15, on which she built her chapel, of which (following the example of Lady Yester in another part of the city) she retained the patronage, and the entire management with herself, and certain persons appointed by her.

In the following year she executed a deed, which declared that the managers of the Orphan Hospital should have liberty (upon asking it in proper time) to employ a preacher occasionally in her chapel, if it was not otherwise employed, and to apply the collections made on these occasions in behalf of the hospital. On the edifice being finished, she addressed the following letter to the Moderator of the Presbytery of Edinburgh:—

"Edin., April 25th, 1774.

'REVEREND SIR,—It is a general complaint that the churches of this city which belong to the Establishment are not proportioned to the number of its inhabitants. Many who are willing to pay for seats cannot obtain them; and no space is left for the poor, but the remotest areas, where few of those who find room to stand can get within hearing of any ordinary voice. I have thought it my duty to employ part of that substance with which God has been pleased to entrust me in building a chapel within the Orphan House Park, in which a considerable number of our communion who at present are altogether unprovided may enjoy the benefit of the same ordinances which are dispensed in the parish churches, and where I hope to have the pleasure of accommodating some hundreds of poor people who have long been shut out from one of the best and to some of them the only means of instruction in the principles of our holy religion.

"The chapel will soon be ready to receive a congregation, and it is my intention to have it supplied with a minister of approved character and abilities, who will give sufficient security for his soundness in the faith and loyalty to Government.

"It will give me pleasure to be informed that the Presbytery approve of my design, and that it will be agreeable to them that I should ask occasional supply from such ministers and probationers as I am acquainted with, till a congregation be formed and supplied with a stated minister.—I am, Rev. Sir, &c.

"W. GLENORCHY."

The Presbytery being fully convinced not only of the piety of her intentions, but the utility of having an additional place of worship in the city,

unanimously approved of the design, and in May, 1774, her chapel was opened by the Rev. Robert Walker of the High Church, and Dr. John Erskine of the Greyfriars; but a number of clergy were by no means friendly to the erection of this chapel in any way, on the plea that the footing on which it was admitted into connection with the Church was not sufficiently explicit, and eventually they brought the matter before the Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Lady Glenorchy acquainted the Presbytery, in 1775, that she intended to place in the chapel an English dissenting preacher named Grove. The Presbytery wrote, that though they approved of her piety, they could give no countenance whatever to a minister who was not a member of the Church of Scotland; and Mr. Grove foreseeing a contest, declined the charge, and now ensued a curious controversy.

Lady Glenorchy again applied to the Presbytery, wishing as incumbent the Rev. Mr. Balfour, then minister of Lecroft; but he, with due respect for the Established Church and its authority, declined to leave his pastoral charge until he was assured that the Presbytery of the city would instal him in the chapel. The latter approved of her selection, but declined the installation, unless there was a regular "call" from the congregation, and security given that the offerings at the chapel were never to be under the administration of the managers of the charity workhouse.

With this decision she declined to comply, and wrote, "That the chapel was her own private property, and had never been intended to be put on the footing of the Establishment, nor connected with it as a chapel of ease to the city of Edinburgh: That having built it at her own expense, she was entitled to name the minister: That she wished to convince the Presbytery of her inclination, that her minister, though not on the Establishment, should hold communication with its members: That, with respect to the offerings, everybody knew that she had appointed trustees for the management of them, and that those who were not pleased with this mode of administration might dispose of their alms elsewhere; adding that she had once and again sent part of these offerings to the treasurer of the charity workhouse."

A majority of the Presbytery now voted her reply satisfactory, agreed to instal her minister, and that he should be in communion with the Established Church. "Thus," says Arnot, who seems antagonistic to the founder, "did the Presbytery give every mark of countenance, and almost every benefit arising from the Established Church, while this institution was not subject to their jurisdiction; while

they dispensed with the 'moderation of the call,' a form about which they stickle zealously, if by it they could get a minister presented by the legal patron to be rejected, while they did not insist upon the stipend being properly secured, while they agreed to permit Lady Glenorchy to dispose without control, upon those pious offerings which should have been applied towards the support of the charity workhouse, while they, in fact eluded that right of patronage over all churches in this city,

the chapel to all the privileges it had enjoyed by the countenance and protection of the Presbytery.

In 1776 Lady Glenorchy invited Dr Thomas Snell Jones, a Wesleyan Methodist, to accept the charge of her chapel, and after being ordained to the office of pastor by the Scottish Presbytery of London he became settled as incumbent on the 25th of July 1779, and from that date continued to labour as such until about three years before his



THE ORPHAN HOSPITAL (From a drawing by Storer, published in 1820)

holding communion with the Established ministers, which is vested in the magistrates of Edinburgh, and while they had no power to depose from the benefice in this chapel the minister installed by them in case of his errors in life or doctrine!"

To avoid unpleasantness, Mr Balfour, like Mr Grove, declined the charge.

It was now that the matter came before the Synod, which not only gave judgment in the matter, but forbade all ministers or probationers within their bounds to preach in this unlucky chapel, or to employ the minister of it in any capacity. From this sentence the Presbytery of Edinburgh appealed to the next General Assembly of the Church, which reversed it, and restored

death, which occurred on the 3rd of March, 1837, a period of nearly fifty eight years.

He preached the funeral sermon on the demise of Lady Glenorchy on the 17th July, 1786, in her forty fourth year. She was buried, by her own desire, in a vault in the centre of the chapel. By a settlement made some time before her death, she endowed the latter with a school which was built near it. Therein, a hundred poor children were taught to read and write. It was managed by trustees, with instructions which secure its perpetuity. Lady Glenorchy's Free Church school is now at Greenside.

In 1792 Dr Jones had as a colleague, Dr Greville Ewing, afterwards editor of *The Missionary*

*Magazine* (started in Edinburgh), and minister of the Congregational church in Glasgow.

In 1828, on the 8th of June—the fiftieth year of his ministry being complete—a hundred gentlemen, connected with Lady Glenorchy's chapel, entertained Dr. Jones at a banquet given in his honour at the Waterloo Tavern, and presented him “with an elegant silver vase, as a tribute of the respect and esteem which the people entertained for the uniform uprightness of his conduct during the long period they had enjoyed his ministry.”

Lady Glenorchy's chapel and school were alike demolished in 1845, as stated. The former, as a foundation, is now in Roxburgh Place, as a chapel in connection with the Establishment. “It has now a *quoad sacra* district attached to it,” says *Fullarton's Gazetteer*; “the charge in 1835 was collegiate. There is attached to the chapel a school attended by 100 or 120 poor children.”

In the same quiet and secluded hollow, overlooked by the Trinity Church and Hospital, the Orphan Hospital, and the Glenorchy Chapel—in the very bed of what was once the old loch, and where now prevail all the bustle and uproar of one of the most confused of railway termini, and where, ever and anon, the locomotive sends up its shriek to waken the echoes of the Calton rocks or the enormous masses of the Post-office buildings, and those which flank the vast Roman-like span of the Regent Bridge—lay the old Physic Gardens, for the creation of which Edinburgh was indebted to one or two of her eminent physicians in the seventeenth century.

They extended between the New Port at the foot of Halkerston's Wynd, *i.e.*, from the east side of the north bridge to the garden of the Trinity College Hospital, which Lord Cockburn describes as being “about a hundred feet square; but it is only turf surrounded by a gravel walk. An old thorn, and an old elm, destined never to be in leaf again, tell of old springs and old care. And there is a wooden summer house, which has heard many an old man's crack, and seen the sun soften many an old man's wrinkles.”

In Gordon of Rothiemay's view this particular garden (now among the things that were) is shown as extending from the foot of Halkerston's Wynd to the west gable of the Trinity Hospital, and northward in a line with the tower of the church.

From the New Port, the Physic Garden, occupying much of that we have described, lay north across the valley, to where a path between hedges led to the Orphan Hospital. It is thus shown in Edgar's plan, in 1765.

It owed its origin to Sir Andrew Balfour, the

son of Sir Michael Balfour of Denmylne. An eminent physician and botanist, he was born in 1630, graduated in medicine at St. Andrews, prosecuted his medical studies under the famous Harvey in London,\* after which he visited Blois, to see the celebrated botanical garden of the Duke de Guise, then kept by his countryman Dr. Robert Morison, author of the “*Hortus Regius Bloisensis*,” and afterwards, in 1609, professor of botany at Oxford.

In 1667 Balfour commenced to practise as a physician in St. Andrews, but in 1670 he removed to Edinburgh, where among other improvements he introduced the manufacture of paper into Scotland. Having a small botanical garden attached to his house, and chiefly furnished with rare seeds sent by his foreign correspondents, he raised there many plants never before seen in Scotland. His friend and botanical pupil, Mr. Patrick Murray of Livingstone, had formed at his seat a botanic garden containing fully a thousand specimens of plants; and after his death Dr. Balfour transferred the whole of this collection to Edinburgh, and, joining it to his own, laid the foundation of the first botanic garden in Scotland, for which the magistrates allotted him a part of the Trinity garden, and then, through the patronage of Sir Robert Sibbald, the eminent physician and naturalist, Mr. James Sutherland, an experienced botanist, was appointed head-gardener.

After this Balfour was created a baronet by Charles II. He was the first who introduced the dissection of the human body into Scotland; he planned the present Royal College of Physicians, projected the great hospital now known as the Royal Infirmary; and died full of honours in 1694, bequeathing his museum to the university.

It was in September, 1676, that he placed the superintending of the Physic Garden under James Sutherland, who was by profession a gardener, but of whose previous history little is known. “By his own industry,” says Sir Robert Sibbald, “he obtained to great knowledge of plants,” and seems to have been one of those self-made men of whom Scotland has produced so many of whom she may well be proud. In 1683 he published his “*Hortus Medicus Edinburgensis*,” or a catalogue of the plants in the Physic Gardens at Edinburgh, containing the most proper Latin and English names,” dedicated to the Lord Provost, Sir George Drummond. In his little garden in the valley of the North Loch he taught the science of herbs to the students of medicine for small fees, receiving no other encouragement than a salary of £20 from the city, which did not suffice to pay rent and servants' wages, to

say nothing of the cost of new plants, so difficult to procure in those non-travelling times.

In the spring of 1689, during the siege of the Castle, a woeful mishap befell him. For certain strategic reasons it had been thought necessary by Sir John Lanier and other leaders to drain the North Loch, and, as the water thereof ran through the Botanic Gardens, as it had done of old through that of the Hospital, it came to pass that for several days the place was completely inundated, and when left dry was found to be covered with mud, and the rubbish of the city drains, so that nearly all the delicate and costly plants collected by Balfour, by Silbald, and by Sutherland, were destroyed; and it cost the latter and his assistants nearly a whole season to clear the ground, and in his distress he appealed to the Privy Council.

That body considered his memorial, and the good services he was rendering, "whereby not only the young physicians, apothecaries, and surgeons, but also the nobility and gentry, are taught the knowledge of herbs, and also a multitude of plants, shrubs, and trees, are cultivated, which were never known in this nation before, and more numerous," continues the Privy Council Record, "than in any other garden in Britain, as well for the honour of the place as for the advantage of the people." They therefore awarded him a pension of £50 yearly out of the fines accruing to them.

Encouraged by this, and further aided by the Lords of the Scottish Treasury, James Sutherland, in 1695, extended his operations to a piece of ground lying between the porch of Holyrood palace and the old road to Restalrig, near where the great dial stands now, where in that year he raised "a good crop of melons," and many "other curious annuals, fine flowers, and other plants not ordinary in this country." In a few years he hoped to rival London, if supplied with means to procure "reed hedges to divide, shelter, and lay the ground 'lown,' and warm, and a greenhouse and store to preserve oranges, myrtles, and lemons, with other tender plants and fine exotics in winter." He entreated the Lords of Council to further aid him, "without which the work must cease, and the petitioner suffer in reputation and interest, what he is doing being more for the honour of the nation, and the ornament and use of his majesty's palace, than his own private behoof."

This place remained still garden ground till about the time of Queen Victoria's first visit, when the new north approach to the palace was run through it.

James Sutherland is supposed to have died about 1705, when his collection of Greek, Roman,

Scottish, Saxon, and English coins and medals, was purchased by the Faculty of Advocates, and is still preserved in their library.

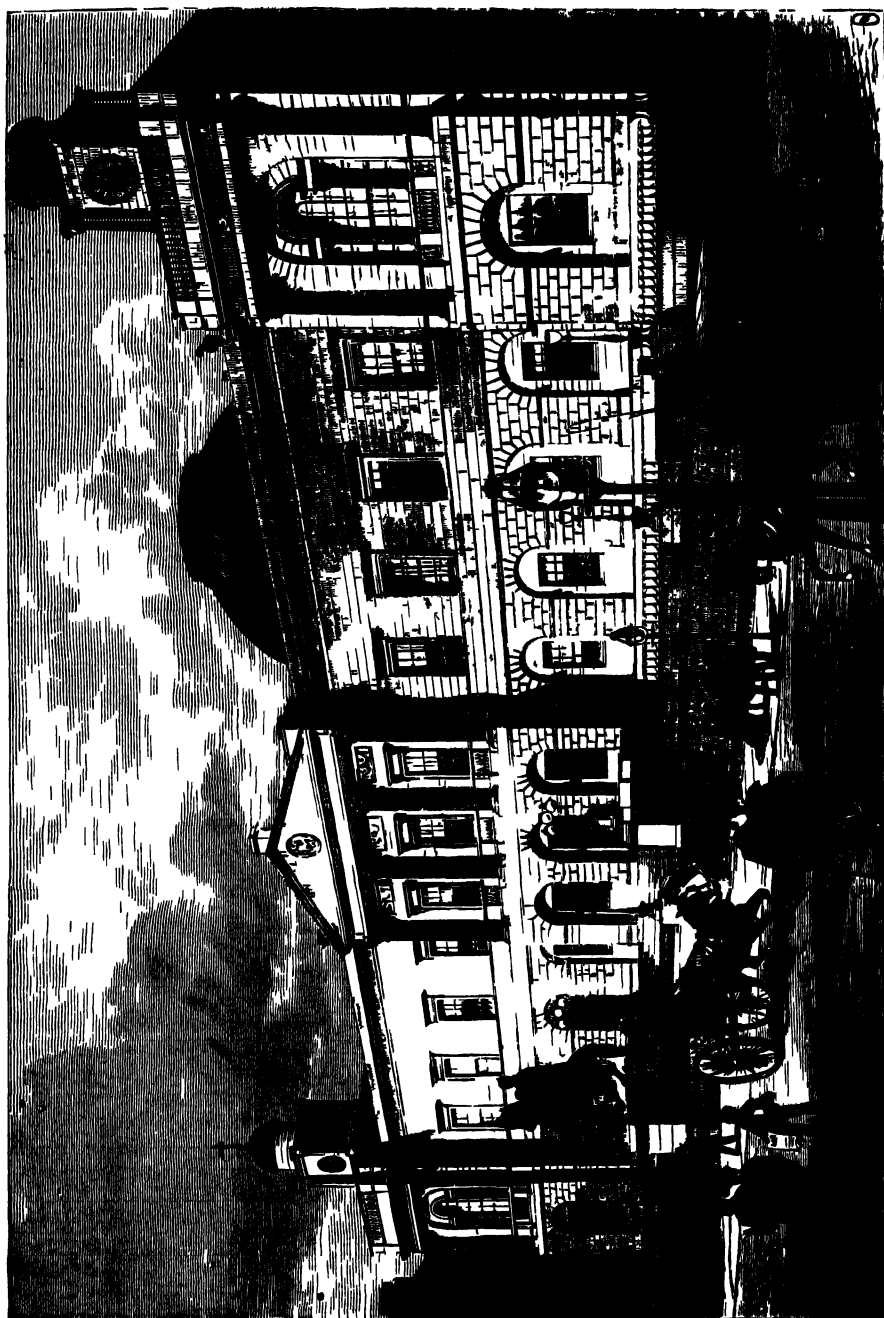
The old Physic Garden, which had been his own, eastward of the bridge, continued to be used as such till the time when the chair of botany was occupied by Dr. John Hope, who was born at Edinburgh in 1725, and was the grandson of Sir Alexander Hope, Lord Rankeillor. On the 13th April, 1761, he was appointed king's botanist for Scotland, and elected a few days after, by the town council, Professor of materia medica, and of botany. He was the first who introduced into Scotland the Linnæan system; and in 1768 he resigned the professorship of materia medica, that, in the end, he might devote himself exclusively to botany, and his exertions in promoting the study of it in Edinburgh were attended with the most beneficial results. His immediate predecessor, Dr. Alston, was violently opposed to the Linnæan system, against which he published an essay in 1751.

It was in the humble garden near the Trinity College that he taught his students, and, for the purpose of exciting emulation among them, he annually, towards the close of the session, gave a beautiful medal to the student who had displayed most diligence and zeal in his studies. It was inscribed—"A cedro hysopum usque. J. HOPE, Bot. Prof., dat . . ." In Kay's portraits we have a clever etching of the Professor superintending his gardeners, in a roquelaure and cocked hat. Besides some useful manuals for facilitating the acquisition of botany by his students, two valuable dissertations by him, the one on the "*Rheum Palmatum*," and the other on the "*Ferula Assafetida*," were published by him in the "Philosophical Transactions."

Finding that the ancient garden was unsuited to advancing science, he used every exertion to have it removed to a more favourable situation. To further his objects the Lords of the Treasury granted him, says Arnot, "£1,330 1s. 2½d. to make it, and for its annual support the sum of £69 3s. At the same time the magistrates and town council granted the sum of £25 annually for paying the rent of the ground."

The place chosen was on the west side of Leith Walk. It was laid out under the eye of Professor Hope, who died in November, 1786. After the formation of the new garden, the old one was completely abandoned about 1770, and continued to be a species of desolate waste ground, enclosed by a rusty iron railing, with here and there an old tree dying of neglect and decay, till at length innovations swept it away.





THE REGISTER HOUSE (From a Photograph by Messrs G. W. H. & Co. Aberdeen.)



dedicated to him,") but by whom founded or when, is quite unknown; and from this edifice an adjacent street was for ages named St. Ninian's Row. "The under part of the building still remains," to quote Arnot; "it is the nearest house to the Register Office on the south-east, except the row of houses on the east side of the theatre. The lower storey was vaulted, and the vaults still remain. On these a mean house has been superstructed, and the whole converted into a dwelling-house. The baptismal font, which was in danger of being destroyed, was this year (1787) removed to the curious tower, built at Dean Haugh, by Mr. Walter Ross, Writer to the Signet." The "lower part" of the building, was evidently the crypt, and the font referred to, a neatly-sculptured basin with a beautiful Gothic canopy, is now among the many fragments built by Sir Walter Scott into the walls of Abbotsford. The extinct chapel appears to have been a dependency of Holyrood abbey, from the numerous notices that appear in licences granted by the abbots of that house to the Corporations of the Canongate, for founding and maintaining altars in the church; and in one of these, dated 1554, by Robert Stewart, abbot of Holyrood, with reference to St. Crispin's altar therein, he states, "it is our will yat ye Cordinars dwelland within our regalitie. . . . besyde our chapell of Sanct Ninian, out with Sanct Andrews Port besyde Edinburcht, be in bretherheid and fellowschipe with ye said dekin and masters of ye cordinar craft."

In 1775 one or two houses of St. James's Square were built on the very crest of Moultray's Hill. The first stone of the house at the south-east corner of the square was laid on the day that news reached Edinburgh of the battle of Bunker's Hill, which was fought on the 17th of June in that year. "The news being of course very interesting, was the subject of popular discussion for the day, and nothing but Bunker's Hill was in everybody's mouth. It so happened that the two builders founding this first tenement fell out between themselves, and before the ceremony was concluded, most indecorously fell to and fought out the quarrel on the spot, in presence of an immense assemblage of spectators, who forthwith conferred the name of Bunker's Hill upon the place, in commemoration of the combat, which it retains to this day. The tenement founded under these curious circumstances was permitted to stand by itself for some years upon the eminence of Bunker's Hill; and being remarkably tall and narrow, as well as a solitary *land*, it got the popular appellation of 'Hugo Arnot' from the celebrated historian, who lived in the neighbourhood, and whose

slim, skeleton-looking figure was well known to the public eye at the period."

So lately as 1804 the ground occupied by the lower end of Catherine Street, at the north-eastern side of 'Moultray's Hill, was a green slope, where people were wont to assemble, to watch the crowds returning from the races on Leith sands.

In this new tenement on Bunker's Hill dwelt Margaret Watson of Muirhouse, widow of Robert Dundas, merchant, and mother of Sir David Dundas, the celebrated military tactician. "We used to go to her house on Bunker's Hill," says Lord Cockburn, "when boys, on Sundays between the morning and the afternoon sermons, when we were cherished with Scottish broth and cakes, and many a joke from the old lady. Age had made her incapable of walking even across the room; so, clad in a plain silk gown, and a pure muslin cap, she sat half encircled by a high-backed black-leather chair, reading, with silver spectacles stuck on her thin nose, and interspersing her studies and her days with much laughter and not a little sarcasm. What a spirit! There was more fun and sense round that chair than in the theatre or the church."

In 1809 No. 7 St. James's Square was the residence of Alexander Geddes, A.R.S.A., a well-known Scottish artist. He was born at 7 St. Patrick Street, near the Cross-causeway, in 1783. In 1812 he removed to 55 York Place, and finally to London, where he died, in Berners Street, on the 5th of May, 1844. His etchings in folio were edited by David Laing, in 1875, but only 100 copies were printed.

A flat on the west side of the square was long the residence of Charles Mackay, whose unrivalled impersonation of Bailie Nicol Jarvie was once the most cherished recollection of the old theatre-going public, and who died on the 2nd November, 1857.

This square was not completed till 1790. In 1787 Robert Burns lived for several months in No. 2 (a common stair now numbered as 30) whither he had removed from Baxter's Close in the Lawnmarket, and from this place many of the letters printed in his correspondence are dated. In one or two he adds, "Direct to me at Mr. W. Cruikshank's, St. James's Square, New Town, Edinburgh." This gentleman was one of the masters of the High School, with whom he passed many a happy hour, and to whose daughter he inscribed the verses beginning—

"Beauteous rosebud, young and gay,  
Blooming in thy early May," &c.

It was while here that he joined most in that brilliant circle in which the accomplished Duchess

of Gordon and the beautiful Miss Burnet of Monboddo made him ever welcome.

A proper place for the retention and safety of the historical records and registers of Scotland had long been a desideratum in Edinburgh. In more ancient times the Register House was in one of the towers of the Castle. From the Acts of Sederunt many would appear to have been there in 1676. In after years the few documents that had escaped pillage or destruction at the hands of Edward I. and Oliver Cromwell were kept below the Parliament House. "A Memorialis anent the Records of Scotland, 1740," preserved among "The Culloden Papers," reports them then to be in "very bad condition, for want of boards to cover them; many of the first and last leafs of each book being so much obliterated as they cannot be easily read, and in a little time will be entirely defaced. For preventing whereof, it may be thought expedient, that application be made to Government for procuring a fund, in order to re-bind all the Records of Charters, Records of Parliament, Records of Privy Seal, Records of Privy Council, &c., and for the more sure preservation of the ancient charters, Sasins and Records of Parliament, and that these be bound in Russia leather which no vermin will kill."

Another memorial in the same year, from William Smith, Clerk to the Chancellor, "anent the ancient rolls, registers, charters, patents of honour, &c., in the Lower Parliament House," states that "till ordered up to London by Oliver Cromwell they were in exceeding good order;" but that now, "after consideration of the miserable circumstances these rolls and registers were in, and daily growing worse, occasioned by the dampness of that low house, and thereby incredibly productive of moths, these eating the parchments upon which they are writ, and the other washing out the ink; and the great trouble and expense it must put any person to, who would, for the love of antiquity and his country, take upon him to redeem them; upon these considerations, I say, we gave over further thoughts of the matter. But however troublesome, yea, impracticable to some, the redemption of these rolls and registers from their present misery, and the restoration of some of them to their primary circumstances, may appear, the memorialist, despising the trouble, is of opinion that the work may be put in practice, and to a very good purpose, if the following proposals are agreed to."

The latter were of an extremely moderate character, as they merely involved a grant for only £253; yet, the Government, though perfectly

ready to absorb yearly the whole revenue of Scotland, utterly ignored the petition.

The idea of a New Register House was actively urged by James Earl of Morton, who died in 1774, and who was Lord Clerk Register. Seeing that it was vain to hope for any direct government grant, he obtained £12,000 out of the money accruing from the forfeited estates of the Jacobites, and laid it at interest till 1765, when Robert Adam, architect, and then M.P. for Kinross, having made a design of the present building, it was completely approved of, and on the 27th of June, 1774, the foundation stone was laid, under a royal salute of cannon, by Lord Frederick Campbell, Lord Register of Scotland, in presence of the magistrates, the judges of the Court of Session and Exchequer, Thomas Millar of Barskimming, Lord Justice Clerk, and James Montgomery, Lord Advocate, the three trustees appointed by the crown to see the design put in execution.

As the estimated expense of the building was £40,000 (and it is said to have cost twice that sum) its progress was slow, as the Treasury seldom favour a Scottish project much. It combines the utmost internal commodiousness, with exterior architectural beauty of a Palladian kind; while all chance of fire is totally precluded by the passages and apartments being walled and vaulted with massive stone.

The building, which stands forty feet back from the line of Princes Street, and is screened by an ornamental parapet having two sentry boxes, and divided in the centre by a double flight of stately steps, has a smooth ashlar front two hundred feet in length, by one hundred and twenty in depth, having a tetrastyle portico of four fluted Corinthian columns, half sunk in the wall. In the centre is a circular saloon, fifty feet in diameter, wherein is the library under a dome, from the top of which it is lighted, and here, until its removal to another part of the edifice, stood a marble statue of George III., by the Hon. Mrs. Damer. Upwards of a hundred vaulted rooms are occupied in the conservation of the national and legal documents of the kingdom, which have been received at the Register House for many years to the present times.

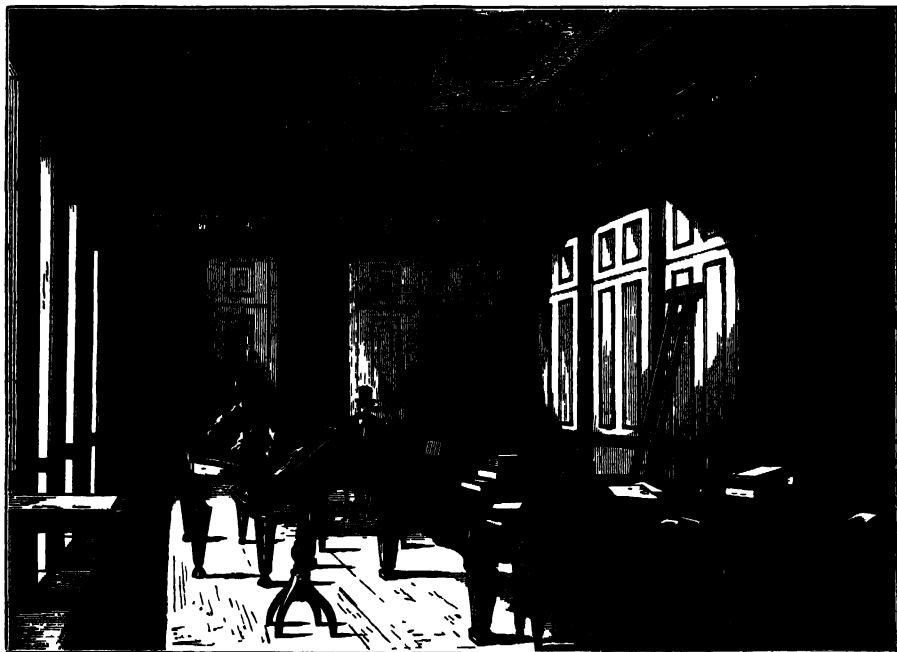
At each of the four corners, equidistant from the central dome, rises a spire or square turret, having clock-dials on the exterior sides, and a cupola and vane on the top. The royal arms of Britain occupy the centre pediment. In addition to the rooms mentioned, which open off long intersecting corridors, are smaller ones for the use of functionaries connected with the Supreme

Courts, and large apartments for the stowage of registers. In 1869 the folio record volumes numbered 42,835, occupying the shelves of twenty-one chambers.

In one of the largest rooms are preserved the rolls of ancient Parliaments, the records of the Privy Council, charters of the sovereigns of Scotland from William the Lion to the days of Queen Anne, and on the central table lies the Scottish duplicate of the Treaty of Union. In these

immediately to the transmission of landed property in Scotland, and to the condition of Scottish society. Others illustrate the relations of Scotland with foreign countries, but more especially with England.

The Lord Clerk Register and Keeper of the Signet, who is a Minister of State of Scotland, and whose office is of great antiquity, has always been at the head of this establishment, which includes various offices, such as those of the Lord Lyon,



ANTIQUARIAN ROOM, REGISTER HOUSE.

fireproof chambers is deposited a vast quantity of valuable and curious legal and historical documents, such as the famous letter of the Scottish barons to the Pope in 1320, declaring that "so long as one hundred Scotsmen remained alive, they would never submit to the dominion of England," adding, "it is not for glory, riches, or honour, that we fight, but for that liberty which no good man will consent to lose but with life!" There, too, is preserved the Act of Settlement of the Scottish crown upon the House of Stuart, a document through which the present royal family inherits the throne; the original deed initiating the College of Justice by James V.; &c. Of all the mass of records preserved here some relate more

the Lords Commissioners of Tiends, the Clerk and Extractors of the Court of Session, the Jury Court, and Court of Justiciary, the Great or Privy Seal, and the Register General.

In 1789, at the request of Lord Frederick Campbell, a military guard was first placed upon this important public building, and two sentinels were posted, one at the east and the other at the west end. In the same year lamps were first placed upon it.

In modern times the two chief departments of the Lord Clerk Register's duty were the registration of title deeds and the custody of historical documents. Originally, like the Master of the Rolls in England, he occasionally exercised judicial

functions, but, unlike that official, these functions did not become permanently a part of his office. At the Union the office of Clerk Register was preserved with all its dignity and emoluments, and it was provided by one of the articles of the Treaty,

that it should take place in Scotland without the presence of the Lord Clerk Register.

Perhaps no holder of this important office rendered better service than the late Sir William Gibson Craig, Bart. of Riccarton, who was equally



DOMED ROOM OR LIBRARY, REGISTER HOUSE

that the records of Scotland should always remain in that kingdom.

The salary of the office was abolished between 1861 and 1868, but a select committee was so strongly in favour of its maintenance, that it was restored by the 25th section of the Writs' Registration Act of the latter year.

Under the Act passed together with the Treaty of Union, no election of representative peers can

well known for his talents, energy, and great urbanity of manner. He was born in 1797, and in 1837 represented Midlothian in the Whig interest. In 1841 he was returned for the city as one of its representatives along with Lord Macaulay, and continued to sit till 1852, and ten years after was appointed Lord Clerk Register. One result of the careful charge and supervision he took of his department was that the historical documents

of the realm have been open to all genuine scholars. Another result of his tenure of office has been the publication of a series of documents and works of the utmost value to students of Scottish history—the completion of the Acts of Parliament begun by Thomas Thomson and finished by Cosmo Innes, the Treasurer's accounts of the time of James IV., the Exchequer Rolls, &c.

No person sleeps in any part of the building generally, the whole being allotted to public purposes only. In the sunk storey under the dome, when the house was built, four furnaces were constructed, from each of which proceeded a flue in a spiral direction, under the pavement of the dome, for the purpose of securing the records from damp.

Among other offices under the same roof are the Privy Seal, the Lord Keeper of which was, in 1879, the Marquis of Lothian; the signet officer; the Register of Deeds and Protests; and the Sasine Office, in the large central front room up-stairs, where a numerous staff of clerks are daily at work, under the Keeper of the General Register and his five assistant-keepers.

The Register of Sasines, the corner-stone of the Scottish system of registration, was instituted in 1617. It had, however, been preceded by another record, called the Secretary's Register, which existed for a short period, being instituted in 1599, but abolished in 1609, and was thus the Scottish Secretary of State, and is thus referred to by Robertson in his "Index of Missing Charters," 1798:—

"The Secretary's Register, as it is called, was the first attempt to introduce our most useful record, that of sasines. But having been committed to the superintendence of the Secretary of State instead of the Lord Clerk Register, and most of the books having remained concealed, and many of them having been lost in consequence of their not being made transmissible to public custody, the institution became useless, and was abolished by Act of Parliament. The Register of Sasines in its present form was instituted in the month of June, 1617."

In the register of this office the whole land writs of Scotland are recorded, and the correctness of it is essential to the validity of title. To it all men go to ascertain the burdens that affect land, and the whole of such registration is now concentrated in Edinburgh. In 1876 the fees of the sasine office amounted to £30,000, and the expense was £17,000, leaving a profit to the Treasury of £13,000.

In a part of the general register house is the office of the Lyon King-of-arms. This office is one of high rank and great antiquity, his station

in Scotland being precisely similar to that of the Garter King in England; and at the coronation of George III. the Lord Lyon walked abreast with the former, immediately preceding the Lord Great Chamberlain. Though heraldry now is little known as a science, and acquaintance with it is, singular to say, not necessary in the Lyon Office, in feudal times the post of a Scottish herald was held of the utmost importance, and the inauguration of the king-at-arms was the mimicry of a royal one, save that the unction was made with wine instead of oil.

In "The order of combats for life," ordained by James I. of Scotland in the early part of the fifteenth century, the places assigned for the "King-of-Arms, Heralds, and other officers," are to be settled by the Lord High Constable. In 1513 James IV. sent the Lyon King with his defiance to Henry VIII., then in France, and the following year he went to Paris with letters for the Duke of Albany. Accompanied by two heralds he went to Paris again in 1558, to be present at the coronation of Francis and Mary as King and Queen of Scotland.

Of old, and before the College of Arms was reconstructed, and the office of Lord Lyon abolished by a recent Act of Parliament, it consisted of the following members:—

The Lord Lyon King of Arms.

The Lyon-Depute.

<i>Heralds.</i>	<i>Pursuivants.</i>
Rothsay.	Kintyre.
Marchmont.	Dingwall.
Albany.	Unicorn.
Ross.	Bute.
Snowdon.	Carrick.
Islay.	Ormond.

Six trumpeters; a Lyon Clerk and Keeper of Records, with his deputy; a Procurator Fiscal, Macer, and Herald Painter.

According to the "Montrose Peerage" case in 1850 there would appear to have been, about 1488, another official known as the "Montrose Herald," connected in some manner with the dukedom of old Montrose.

By Acts of Parliament passed in the reign of James VI. the Lyon King was to hold two courts in the year at Edinburgh—on the 6th of May and 6th of November. Also, he, with his heralds, was empowered to take special supervision of all arms used by nobles and gentlemen, to matriculate them in their books, and inhibit such as had no right to heraldic cognisances, "under the pain of escheating the thing whereupon the said arms are found to the king, and of one hundred pounds to the Lyon and his brethren, or of imprisonment during the Lyon's pleasure."

Under the Lord Lyon were the messengers-at-arms, whose duty is still to execute all summonses before the Court of Session, to apprehend the persons of debtors, and generally to perform the executive parts of the law. By the twelfth Parliament of James VI. and the second Parliament of Charles II. it is defined that the province of the Lyon—who takes his name from the emblem in the royal standard—is to adjust matters of precedence, and marshal public processions; also to inspect the coats of arms of the nobility and gentry; to punish those who assume arms to which they have no hereditary right; to bestow coats of arms upon the deserving; to grant supporters in certain cases; and to take cognisance of, and to punish, offences committed by messengers-at arms in the course of their office.

Of old, and before it degenerated into a mere legal sinecure, the office was one of great dignity, and the person of the holder was deemed almost sacred. Thus, Bishop Lesly tells us in his history that in 1515 the aged Lord Drummond was forfeited “for striking the Lyon, and narrowly escaped the loss of his life and dignity.”

In 1530 the office of Lord Lyon was bestowed by James V. upon Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, the celebrated poet, moralist, and reformer, whom, four years after, he sent as an ambassador to Germany, and in 1548 in a similar capacity to Denmark. It was an office imposed upon the Lord Lyon to receive foreign ambassadors, and Lindesay did this honour to Sir Ralf Sadler, who came from England in 1539–40; and in 1568 Sir David Lindesay of Rathuleit was solemnly crowned King-of-arms, in presence of the Regent and nobility; and in 1603, as Balfour tells us, “Sir David Lindesay of Mount, Lyone King-of-arms,” proclaimed at the Cross the accession of James VI. to the English throne.

On the 15th of June, 1630, Sir Jerome Lyndsay of Annatland resigned the office in favour of Sir James Balfour of Denmylne, who was crowned as Lyon King by George Earl of Kinnoul, Chancellor of Scotland, acting as royal commissioner, and in 1633 he was created a baronet. Balfour, an eminent antiquary and annalist, was well versed in heraldry, to perfect the study of which, before his appointment, he proceeded to London and became acquainted with Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir William Segar the Garter King, who obtained for him from the heralds' college a highly honourable testimonial, signed and sealed by all the members of that corporation. When the Civil War broke out, though a staunch Presbyterian, Sir James remained loyal to the king, for whose Scots

Guards he designed colours in 1649; but was deprived of his office by Cromwell, after which he retired to Lifeshire, and collected many manuscripts on the science of heraldry and connected with Scottish history, prior to his death in 1657, and these are now preserved in the Advocates' Library. A fine portrait of him is prefixed to his “*Annales*,” published at Edinburgh in 1824.

The installation of a Lyon King is given fully in an account of “The order observed at the coronation of Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Baronet, Lord Lyon King-of-arms, at the royal palace of Holyrood House, on the 27th day of July, 1681, his Royal Highness James Duke of Albany and York being his Majesty's High Commissioner.”

In the ceremony of installation the Lord Lyon is duly crowned; and Sir Alexander was the last who was thus crowned. His father, Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo, had previously been Lyon King, of which office he obtained a “ratification,” by Parliament in 1672, with remainder to his son.

It is related in MacCormick's “Life of Principal Carstairs,” that when the latter was a prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh in 1685, an engaging boy about twelve years of age, son of Erskine of Cambo, then constable of the fortress, used to come almost daily to the open grating of his dungeon, and was wont to sit there for hours, “lamenting his unhappy situation, and endeavouring by a thousand innocent and childish means to divert him. Sometimes the boy brought him packages of fruit and provisions (more delicate than the coarse fare of the prison), and, what were of more importance, pens, ink, and paper, and when the prisoner wrote letters carried them to the post.”

Years elapsed ere the unfortunate Carstairs could testify his gratitude; but when the Revolution came and the hand of misfortune fell heavily on the Cavalier Erskines of Cambo, the Principal, then high in favour with William III., remembered his little friend of the bitter past in the Castle of Edinburgh; and one of the first favours he asked the new king was to bestow the office of Lord Lyon upon the young heir of Cambo. The request was granted, with the additional favour that it was made hereditary in the family; but it was soon after forfeited by their joining the Earl of Mar in 1715.

For a time the office was held by John Hooke Campbell, Esq., with a salary of £300 yearly. Robert ninth Earl of Kinnoul, and Thomas tenth Earl, held it as a sinecure in succession, with a salary of £555 yearly; for each herald £25 yearly, and for each pursuivant £16 13s. 4d. yearly were paid; and on the death of the last-named earl, in 1866, the office of Lord Lyon was reduced to a

mere Lyon King, while the heralds and pursuivants were respectively reduced to four each in number, who, clad in tabards, proclaim by sound of trumpet and under a guard of honour, at the market cross, as of old, war or peace with foreign nations, the proroguing and assembly of Parliament, &c

The new Register House stands partly behind the old one, with an open frontage in West Register Street, towards Princes Street. It was

1685, the bill chamber and extractor's chamber, the accountant in bankruptcy, and the tiend office, &c

In front of the flight of steps which lead to the entrance of the original Register House stands the bronze equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, executed by Sir John Steel, R.S.A., a native sculptor. The bust taken for this figure so pleased the old duke that he ordered two to be executed for him,



THE REGISTER HOUSE IN 1829 (THE GLASGOW COACH IN THE FOREGROUND)

built between 1857 and 1860, at a cost of £27,000, from designs by Robert Matheson. It is in a species of Palladian style, with Greek details. It serves chiefly as the General Registry Office for births, deaths, and marriages, with the statistical and index departments allotted thereto. A supplemental building in connection with both houses was built in 1871, from designs by the same architect, for the reception of record volumes in continuation of those in the old Register House.

In the new buildings are various departments connected with the law courts—such as the Great Seal Office and the office of the Privy Seal.

In the new Register House are also the Chancery Office, and the Record of Entails, for which an Act was first passed by the Parliament of Scotland in

one for Apsley House, and the other for Eton. It was erected in 1852, amid considerable ceremony, when there were present at the unveiling a vast number of pensioners drawn up in the street, many minus legs and arms, while a crowd of retired officers, all wearing the newly given war-medal, occupied the steps of the Register House, and were cheered by their old comrades to the echo. Many met on that day who had not seen each other since the peace that followed Waterloo, and when the bands struck up such airs as "The garb of old Gaul," and "The British Grenadiers," many a withered face was seen to brighten, and many an eye grew moist, staffs and crutches were brandished, and the cheering broke forth again and again.



THE WELLINGTON STATUE, REGISTER HOUSE

## CHAPTER XLVIII

## THE SOUTH BRIDGE

Marine Wynd—Legend of the Pavise—Peebles Wynd The Bridge Founded Price of Sites—Living Book Shop—The Assay Office and Goldsmith's Hall—Mode of Marking the Plate The Corporation and old Acts concerning it Hunter Square Merchant Company's Hall—The Company's Charter—The Stock of Broom—Their Monopoly and Progress The Great Shield of the Merchant Company—The Chamber of Commerce Adam Square—Adam's Houses—Dr Andrew Duncan—Leonard Horner and the Watt Institution—Its Progress and Vitality

No sooner was the North Bridge completed than the utility of building one to the south appeared. So early as 1775 the idea of erecting such a bridge was contemplated, at the cost of £8,600 sterling, to raise which it was proposed to have a port at the southern end at which tolls were to be levied, in consequence of which, according to Kincaid, the idea was abandoned.

No steps were taken in the matter till 1784, when Sir James Hunter Blair was elected Lord Provost, and he caused the site to be examined and a report made to the Council of the manner in which it

would be proper to have the design carried out. Some time after this, a publication signed "A Citizen," appeared, addressed to the public, containing proposals for the erection of a bridge across the Cowgate, and establishing a permanent fund for the support of the city poor, and this gave a great impetus to the undertaking. All parties concerned having met, the design was approved of, and an Act of Parliament obtained for carrying it on, and the necessary demolitions were forthwith made. In the course of these were swept away the old Poultry Market, which appears in Edgar's plan



in 1765, and two ancient thoroughfares, the Wynds of Marlin and Peebles, with the east side of Niddry's Wynd.

In Queen Mary's time the corn-market was removed from the corner of Marlin's Wynd to the east end of the Grass-market, where it continued to be held till the present century. This wynd led to the poultry-market, and ran south from the back of the Tron church to the Cowgate, and at the time of its demolition contained many book shops and stalls, the favourite lounge of all collectors of rare volumes, and had connected with it a curious legend, recorded by Maitland's History in 1753.

John Marlin, a Frenchman, is said to have been the first who was employed to pave or causeway the High Street, and was so vain of his work that, as a monument to his memory, he requested to be buried under it, and he was accordingly buried at the head of the wynd, which from that time took his name. The tradition was further supplemented by the fact that till the demolition of the wynd, a space in the pavement at that spot was always marked by six flat stones in the form of a grave. "According to more authentic information," says Chambers, "the High Street was first paved in 1532, by John and Bartoulme Foliot, who appear to have had nothing in common with this legendary Marlin, except country. The grave of at least Bartoulme Foliot is distinctly marked by a flat monument in the chapel royal at Holyrood."

The pavior's name is perhaps not quite "legendary" after all, as in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer we have a sum stated as being paid to "John Merlyoune," in 1542, for building a Register House in the Castle of Edinburgh.

The father of Sir William Stirling, Bart., who was Lord Provost of the city in 1792, and who had the merit of being the architect of his own fortunes, was a fishmonger at the head of the wynd, where his sign, a large clumsy wooden black bull, now preserved as a relic in the Museum of Antiquities, was long a conspicuous object as it projected over the narrow way.

It was at the head of Peebles Wynd, the adjoining thoroughfare, in 1598, that Robert Cathcart, who ten years before had been with Bothwell, when the latter slew Sir William Stewart in Blackfriars Wynd, was slain by the son of the latter, according to Birrel.

During the demolitions for the projected bridge an ancient seal of block-tin was found, of which an engraving is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788, which says: "It is supposed to be the arms of Arnot, and is a specimen of the seals used for writings, impressions of which were

directed to be given to the sheriffs' clerks of the different counties in Scotland in the time of Queen Mary."

In digging the foundation of the central pier, which was no less than twenty-two feet deep, many coins of the three first English Edwards were found. The old buildings, which were removed to make room for this public work, were, according to Stark, purchased at a trifling cost, their value being fixed by the verdict of juries, while the areas on which they stood were sold by the city for the erection of new buildings on each side of the bridge for £30,000. "It has been remarked," he adds, "that on this occasion the ground sold higher in Edinburgh than perhaps ever was known in any city, even in Rome, during its most flourishing times. Some of the areas sold at the rate of £96,000 per statute acre; others at £109,000 per ditto; and some even so high as £150,000 per acre."

The foundation stone of the bridge was laid on the 1st of August, 1785, by George Lord Haddo, Grand Master Mason of Scotland, attended by the brethren of all the lodges in town, and the magistrates and council in their robes, who walked in procession from the Parliament House, escorted by the soldiers of the City Guard—those grim old warriors, who, says Lord Cockburn, "had muskets and bayonets, but rarely used them."

The bridge was carried on with uncommon dispatch, and was open for foot-passengers on the 19th of November, 1786, but only partially, for the author above quoted mentions that when he first went to the old High School, in 1787, he crossed the arches upon planks. In the following year it was open for carriages. It consists of nineteen arches. That over the Cowgate is thirty-one feet high by thirty wide; the others, namely, seven on the south and eleven on the north, are concealed by the buildings erected and forming it into a street. From the plan and section published by the magistrates at the time, it would appear that the descent from Nicolson Street is one foot in twenty-two to the south pier of the Cowgate arch; and from thence on the north, the ascent to the High Street is one foot in twenty-eight. From the latter to the southern end, where the town wall stood, extends South Bridge Street, "in length 1,075 feet by fifty-five wide," says Kincaid, "including the pavement on each side."

The first house built here was that numbered as 1, forming the corner building at the junction with the High Street. It was erected by Mr. James Cooper, a jeweller, who resided in the upper flat, and died in 1818.

Except at the central arch, which spans the

narrow and picturesque old Cowgate, and where there are open railings, nothing is seen upon the bridge, but two lines of neat buildings with spacious shops, forming a level, a bustling, and in every respect ordinary street.

The continuation of it, opposite the College, is erected on five then vacant storeys, exposed for sale by the trustees of the bridge in February, 1800, at the upset price of £1,500 each lot, which fetched £9,140.

No. 49 on this bridge is somewhat celebrated as being intimately associated with the name of the late David Laing, librarian of the Signet Library, who, in October, 1878, closed a long, useful, and studious career, and the mere enumeration of whose contributions to Scottish history, antiquities, and literature, would form a long catalogue. In No. 49 he was long in partnership with his father (whose shop had formerly been at the Canongate-head, near St. Mary's Wynd), under the designation of "William and David Laing," in 1826; but long before that period he had become known to the frequenters of the shop as a young man possessing an immense amount of bibliographic information. John Gibson Lockhart gives us a descriptive account of the Laings' establishment, which no doubt was a pleasant lounge for him and other *literati* of the day.

In "Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk" he writes, thus:—

"As for shops of old books, classics, black-letter, foreign literature, and the like, I never was in a great town which possesses so few of them as this. There is, however, one shop of this sort which might cut a very respectable figure, even in places where attainments are more in request. It is situated, as it ought to be, in the immediate vicinity of the College, and consequently quite out of the way of all fashionable promenades and lounges; but, indeed, for anything that I have seen, it is not frequented much by young gentlemen of the University. The daily visitors of Mr. Laing seem rather to be a few scattered individuals of various classes and professions, among whom, in spite of the prevailing spirit and customs of the place, some love of classical learning is still found to linger—retired clergymen and the like, who make no great noise in the world, and, indeed, are scarcely known to exist by the most part, even by the literary people of Edinburgh. The shop, notwithstanding, is a remarkably neat and comfortable one, and even a lady might lounge in it without having her eye offended or her gown soiled. It consists of two apartments, which are both completely furnished with valuable editions of old authors; and I assure

you the antique vellum bindings or oak boards of these ponderous folios are a very refreshing sight to me after visiting the gaudy and brilliant stores of such a shop as I have just described (referring to Messrs. Manners and Miller). Mr. Laing himself is a quiet, sedate-looking old gentleman, who, although he has contrived to make very rich in his business, has still the air of being somewhat dissatisfied that so much more attention should be paid by his fellow-citizens to the flimsy novelties of the day than to the solid and substantial articles which his magazine displays. But his son is the chief enthusiast—indeed, he is by far the most genuine specimen of the true old-fashioned bibliophile that I ever saw exhibited in the person of a young man. My friend Wastle (Lockhart) has a prodigious liking for him. Here Wastle commonly spends one or two hours every week he is in Edinburgh, turning over, in the company of his young friend, all the Aldines, Elzevirs, Wynkin de Wordes, and Caxtons, in the collection, nor does he often leave the shop without taking some little specimen of its treasures home with him. David Laing is still a very young man, but Wastle tells me that he possesses a truly remarkable degree of skill and knowledge in almost all departments of bibliography. Since Lunn's death, he says, he does not think there is any of the booksellers in London superior to him in this way. He publishes a catalogue almost every year, and thus carries on a very extensive trade with all parts of the island. I believe he has no rival in the whole country. This old gentleman and his son are distinguished by their classical taste in regard to other things besides books. They give an annual dinner to Wastle, and he carried me with him the other day to one of these anniversaries. I have seldom seen a more luxurious display. David and Wastle entertained us with a variety of stories about George Buchanan, the admirable Crichton, and all the more forgotten heroes of the *Delicie Poetarum Scotorum*."

William Laing was the first Edinburgh bookseller who introduced Continental works to any extent into the country, and he broke up a trade ring which then existed in Holland. David's book lore brought him into frequent intercourse with Sir Walter Scott; and when, in 1823, the Bannatyne Club (on the model of the Roxburghe) started, he was made secretary, and speedily raised its members from thirty-one to one hundred. Over thirty-eight years he worked in the literary interests of the club, and was the intimate friend of Scott, Thomas Thomson, Lord Chief Commissioner Adam, Lords Cockburn, Jeffrey, and others, who belonged to it.

In 1837 he succeeded Professor Macvey Napier as Librarian to the Signet Library; and when the new and noble library of the University was opened he volunteered to arrange it, which he did with all the ardour of a bibliomaniac. He was made LL.D. of his native university in 1864, and is believed to have edited and annotated fully 250 rare works on Scottish history and antiquities. Indeed, no man had a more sincere attachment to all that concerned the glorious past of his country than David Laing.

In No. 98 of the Bridge Street are the Assay Office and Goldsmith's Hall. The former is open on alternate days, when articles of gold and silver that require to be guaranteed by the stamp of genuineness, are sent in and assayed. The assay master scrapes a small quantity of metal off each article, and submits it to a test in order to ascertain the quality. The duty charged here on each ounce of gold plate is 17s. 6d., and on silver plate 1s. 6d.

One of the earliest incorporated trades of Edinburgh was that of the hammermen, under which were included the goldsmiths, who, in 1586, were formed into a separate company. By the articles of it, apprentices must serve for a term of seven years, and masters are obliged to serve a regular apprenticeship of three years or more to make them more perfect in their trade. They were, moreover, once bound to give the deacon of the craft sufficient proof of their knowledge of metals, and of their skill in the working thereof. By a charter of James VI., all persons not of the corporation are prohibited from exercising the trade of a goldsmith within the liberties of Edinburgh.

King James VII. incorporated the company by a charter, with additional powers for the regulation of its trade. Those were granted, so it runs, "because the art and science of goldsmiths is exercised in the city of Edinburgh, to which our subjects frequently resort, because it is the seat of our supreme Parliament, and of the other supreme courts, and there are few goldsmiths in other cities."

In virtue of the powers conferred upon it, the company, from the date of its formation, tested and stamped all the plate and jewellery made in Scotland. The first stamp adopted was the triple-towered castle, or city arms. "In 1681," says Bremner, in his "Industries of Scotland," "a letter representing the date was stamped on as well as the castle. The letter **A** indicates that the article bearing it was made in the year between the 29th of September, 1681, and the same day in 1682; the other letters of the alphabet, omitting j and w, representing the succeeding twenty-three years.

Each piece bore, in addition to the castle and date letter, the assay-master's initials. Seven alphabets of a different type have been exhausted in recording the dates; and the letter of the eighth alphabet, for 1869, is an Egyptian capital **M**. In 1759 the standard mark of a thistle was substituted for the assay-master's initials, and is still continued. In 1784 a 'duty-mark' was added, the form being the head of the sovereign. The silver mace of the city of Edinburgh is dated 1617; the High Church plate, 1643."

The making of spoons and forks was at one time an extensive branch of the silversmith trade in Edinburgh; but the profits were so small that it has now passed almost entirely into the hands of English manufacturers.

The erection of this bridge led to the formation of Hunter Square and Blair Street much about the same time and in immediate conjunction with it. The square and street (where the King's printing-office was placed) were both named from Sir James Hunter Blair, who was Provost of the city when the bridge was commenced, but whose death at Harrogate, in 1789, did not permit him to see the final completion of it.

Number 4 in this small square, the north side of which is entirely formed by the Tron Church, contains the old hall of the Merchant Company of Edinburgh, which was formed in 1681.

But long previous to that year the merchants of the city formed themselves into a corporation, called the guildry, from which, for many ages, the magistrates were exclusively chosen; and, by an Act of Parliament passed in the reign of James III., each of the incorporated trades in Edinburgh was empowered to choose one of their number to vote in the election of those who were to govern the city, and this guildry was the parent of the Merchant Company. "It was amidst some of the most distressing things in our national history—hangings of the poor 'hill folk' in the Grass-market, trying of the patriot Argyle for taking the test-oath with an explanation, and so forth—that this company came into being. Its nativity was further heralded by sundry other things of a troublous kind affecting merchandise and its practitioners."

The merchants of Edinburgh, according to Amot, were erected into a body-corporate by royal charter, dated 19th October, 1681, under the name of *The Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh*. By this charter they were empowered to choose a Preses, who is called "The Master," with twelve assistants, a treasurer, clerk, and officer. The company were further empowered to purchase

land, and to make bye-laws for their good government, &c. But a saving clause was inserted of the rights of the different incorporations of the city.

The money payable to the funds of this Company was, upon admission of a member, ten shillings, his yearly quota two shillings, and by a lad entering apprentice with a member, five shillings; but the funds arising from these payments were chiefly designed for the support of their own poor—decayed members and their widows and children.

Eighty-two of these merchants, so called, but

their society and plan of charity, and ever since 'the Stick of Broom' has been the first toast at all the convivial meetings of the company." It was ruled in their constitution that none who had not entered their company should be permitted to trade as a merchant in the city, and they were empowered to pound all goods exposed to sale in contravention of their monopolising bye-laws.

One of the first proceedings of the company was to invite the Episcopal Dean of Edinburgh to compose a prayer to be said at all their meet-



WATT INSTITUTION AND SCHOOL OF ARTS, ADAM SQUARE.

who were chiefly "concerned in the business of cloth or clothing alone," on the 1st of December, 1681, met the Provost, Sir James Fleming, and the magistrates in the High Council House, to hear read the royal charter which had been granted to them by Charles II., forming them into a society for the promotion of commerce and other useful purposes.

That the whole affair was of humble origin is apparent from the smallness of the sum each was to contribute. As their badge, or symbol, the constituent members adopted a *Stick of Broom*, "a modest shrub," says Chambers; "but with a great tendency to increase. As such they regarded

ings. The prayer was prepared in due course, and though the company resolved to reward the dean for it, it was not until August, 1686, that they directed Hugh Blair, one of their number, to furnish him with six ells of fine black cloth for a gown, at twenty shillings sterling the ell, if paid within twelve months; and if not, the price was to be augmented till paid, at the discretion of the company—so small were its beginnings.

On the 9th of January, 1688, they realised £36 13s. Scots, by pounding certain goods which had been exposed in the market contrary to law, oblivious of their prayer against "pride, passion, prejudice, and covetousness," and Hugh Blair was

then paid for the dean's gown. This Hugh Blair was the grandson of the eminent Covenanted clergyman Robert Blair, who accompanied the Scottish army into England in 1640, and assisted at the negotiations which led to the Peace of Ripon; and he was the grandfather of his namesake, author of the famous *Sermons* and *Lectures on Belles-Lettres*.

One of the earliest movements of any importance in the history of the company was its acquisition of a hall. Bailie Robert Blackwood, who was master in 1691, found a large mansion in the Cowgate, belonging to Robert Macgill, Viscount Oxenford, the price of which would be about 12,000 merks, or £670 sterling; and this house the company purchased with subscriptions. It was a large quadrangle, surrounding a courtyard, and in a portion of it several persons of rank and position had apartments, including the widow of the terrible old "persecutor," Sir Thomas Dalryell of Binns. It contained one large apartment, that was adopted as a hall, which one of the company, Alexander Brand, a bailie of the city—who had a manufactory for stamping Spanish leather with gold, then used for the decoration of rooms, before paper-hangings were known—liberally offered to decorate, and only to charge what was due over and above his own contribution of £150 Scots. "Ten years afterwards, when accounts came to be settled with the then Sir Alexander Brand, it appeared that a hundred and nineteen skins of gold leather with a black ground had been used, at a total expense of £253 Scots, including the manufacturer's contribution. There was also much concernment about a piece of waste ground behind; but the happy thought occurred of converting it into a bowling-green for the use of the members in the first place, and the public in the second. Many years afterwards we find Allan Ramsay making Horatian allusions to this place of recreation, telling us that now in winter, douce folk were no longer seen using the biassed bowls on Thomson's Green (Thomson being a subsequent tenant). It is not unworthy of notice," continues Dr. Chambers, "that from the low state of the arts in Scotland, the bowls required for this green had to be brought from abroad. It is gravely reported to the company on the 6th of March, 1693, that the bowls are 'upon the sea homeward.' Ten pairs cost £6 4s. 3d. Scots."

Brand got himself into trouble in 1697 for making what were called "donations" to the Privy Council. In 1693, he, together with Sir Thomas Kennedy of Kirkhill, Provost in 1685, and Sir William Binning, Provost in 1676, had contracted with the national Government for a supply of 5,000

stand of arms at a pound each; but when abroad for their purchase, he alleged that the arms could not be got under twenty-six shillings a stand. To obtain payment of the extra sum (£1,500), the two knights bribed the Earls of Linlithgow and Breadalbane by a gift of 250 guineas. Hence, when the affair was discovered, the then contractors, "for the compound fault of contriving bribery and defaming the nobles in question," were cast in heavy fines—Kennedy in £800, Binning in £300, and Brand in £500, "and to be imprisoned till payment was made."

It is long since the company's connection with the Cowgate ceased, and even the house they occupied there has passed away, being removed to make room for a pier of George IV. Bridge; and in that quarter no memorial of the company now remains but the name of Merchant Street, applied to a petty line of buildings behind the Cowgate; but the company has still a title to ground rents in that part of the city.

Rich members died, leaving bequests to the company for the relief of decayed brethren; but so wealthy and prosperous was the body, that when a legacy of £3,500 was left to them in 1693 by Patrick Aikinhed, a Scottish merchant of Dantzic, they had not a single member in need of monetary aid; and soon after, the company became engaged in the erection of a hospital for the education of the daughters of the less prosperous members, on the ground now occupied by the Industrial Museum. Though originally designed by Mrs. Mary Erskine, a scion of the House of Mar, the principal expense of the institution fell on the company, and the governors were made a body corporate by an Act of Parliament in 1707.

In 1723, a merchant named George Watson, who, in 1696, had commenced life as a clerk with Sir John Dick, died and left the company £12,000 sterling for children of the other sex, and enabled them to found the hospital which still bears his name.

After the Union, long years followed ere national enterprise or industry found a fair field for action, and produced the results that created the Edinburgh of to-day; and it was not till the reign of George III. that her merchants, like those elsewhere, had ceased in any degree to depend upon prohibitions and the exclusive rights of dealing in merchandise.

In the eighteenth century a considerable aristocratic element was infused into mercantile life in Edinburgh. "To take the leading firms," says Chambers, "among the silk mercers: Of John Hope and Company, the said John Hope was a

younger son of Hope of Rankeillour, in Fife. Of Stewart and Lindsay, the former was the son of Charles Stewart of Ballechin, and the latter a younger son of Lindsay of Wormiston. Among the leading drapers: In the firm of Lindsay and Douglas, the former was a younger son of Lindsay of Eaglescarnie, and the latter of Douglas of Garvaldfoot. Of Dundas, Inglis, and Callender, the first was a son of Dundas of Fingarth, in Stirlingshire, the family from which the Earl of Zetland and Baron Amesbury are descended; the second was a younger son of Sir John Inglis of Cramond, and succeeded to that baronetage, which, it may be remarked, took its rise in an Edinburgh merchant of the seventeenth century. Another eminent cloth-dealing firm, Hamilton and Dalrymple, comprehended John Dalrymple, a younger brother of the well-known Lord Hailes and a grandson of the first Lord Stair. He was at one time Master of the Merchant Company. In a fourth firm, Stewart, Wallace, and Stoddart, the leading partner was a son of Stewart of Duncarn."

The Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Manufactures is an offshoot of the old Merchant Company in 1786, and consists of a chairman and deputy, with about thirty directors and other officers, and has led the van in patronising and promoting liberal measures in trade and commerce generally.

The schools of the Edinburgh Merchant Company are among the most prominent institutions of the city at this day.

More than twenty years before the erection of the South Bridge, the celebrated Mr. Robert Adam, of Maryburgh in Fifeshire, from whose designs many of the principal edifices in Edinburgh were formed, and who was appointed architect to the king in 1762, built, on that piece of ground whereon the south-west end of the Bridge Street abutted, two very large and handsome houses, each with large bow windows, which, being well recessed back, and having the College buildings on the south, formed what was called Adam Square. In those days the ground in front of these was an open space, measuring about 250 feet one way by 200 the other, nearly to Robertson's Close in the Cowgate, which was topped by double rows of trees.

In one of these houses there resided for many years, and died on the 28th July, 1828, Dr. Andrew Duncan, First Physician to His Majesty for Scotland, and an eminent citizen in his day, so much so that his funeral was a public one. "The custom of visiting Arthur's Seat early on the morning of the 1st of May is, or rather was, observed with great enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Edinburgh," says the editor of "Kay's Portraits." "Dr.

Duncan was one of the most regular in his devotion to the 'Queen of May during the long period of fifty years, and to the very last he performed his wonted pilgrimage with all the spirit, if not the agility, of his younger years. On the 1st of May, 1826, two years before his death, although aged eighty-two, he paid his annual visit, and on the summit of the hill read a few lines of an address to Alexander Duke of Gordon, the oldest peer then alive." The Doctor was the originator of the Caledonian Horticultural Society, and the first projector of a lunatic asylum in Edinburgh.

Latterly the houses of Adam were occupied by the Edinburgh Young Men's Christian Association, and the Watt Institution and School of Arts, which was founded by Mr. Leonard Horner, F.R.S., a native, and for many years a citizen, of Edinburgh, the son of Mr. John Horner, of Messrs. Inglis and Horner, merchants, at the Cross. The latter years of his useful life were spent in London, where he died in 1864, but he always visited Edinburgh from time to time, and evinced the deepest interest in its welfare. In 1843 he published the memoirs and correspondence of his younger brother, the gifted Francis Horner (the friend of Lansdowne, Jeffrey, and Brougham), who died at Pisa, yet won a cenotaph in Westminster Abbey.

To an accidental conversation in 1821, in the shop of Mr. Bryson, a watchmaker, the origin of the school has been traced. Mr Horner asked whether the young men brought to Mr. Bryson's trade received any mathematical education, and the latter replied that, "it was seldom, if ever, the case, and that daily experience showed the want of this instruction; but that the expense and usual hours of teaching mathematical classes put it out of the power of working tradesmen to obtain such education." The suggestion then occurred to Mr. Horner to devise a plan by which such branches of science as would benefit the mechanic might be taught at convenient hours and at an expense within his reach; and the idea was the more favourably entertained because such a scheme was already in full operation at Anderson's Institution in Glasgow, and the foundation of the Edinburgh School of Art in the winter of 1821 was the immediate result.

With Mr. Horner many gentlemen well-known in the city cordially co-operated; among these were Sir David Brewster, Principal of the University, Dr. Brunton, Mr. (afterwards Lord) Murray, Professor Pillans, Mr. Playfair, architect, Mr. Robert Bryson, and Mr. James Mylne, brassfounder.

To enable young tradesmen to become acquainted with the principles of chemistry and

mechanics, and such other branches of science as were necessary in their various crafts, an association was formed, and with this general object in view the School of Arts was duly inaugurated on the 16th of October 1821 by a meeting at which the Lord Provost, afterwards Sir William Arbuthnot, Bart, presided. The two leading classes then established, and which continue to this day to be fundamental subjects of education in the school, were Chemistry and Mechanical or Natural Philosophy. The first meetings of the school were in a

General Hope, it was resolved that an edifice should be erected with that view, appropriate to the name and character of Watt, and that it should be employed for the accommodation of the School of Arts and to promote the interests of the class from which he sprang.

The directors had by them £400, which they resolved to add as a subscription for this memorial, to the end that their school should have a permanent building of its own, but it was not till 1851 that arrangements were completed, by which,



SURGEON SQUARE (from a Drawing by Shepherd published in 1821)

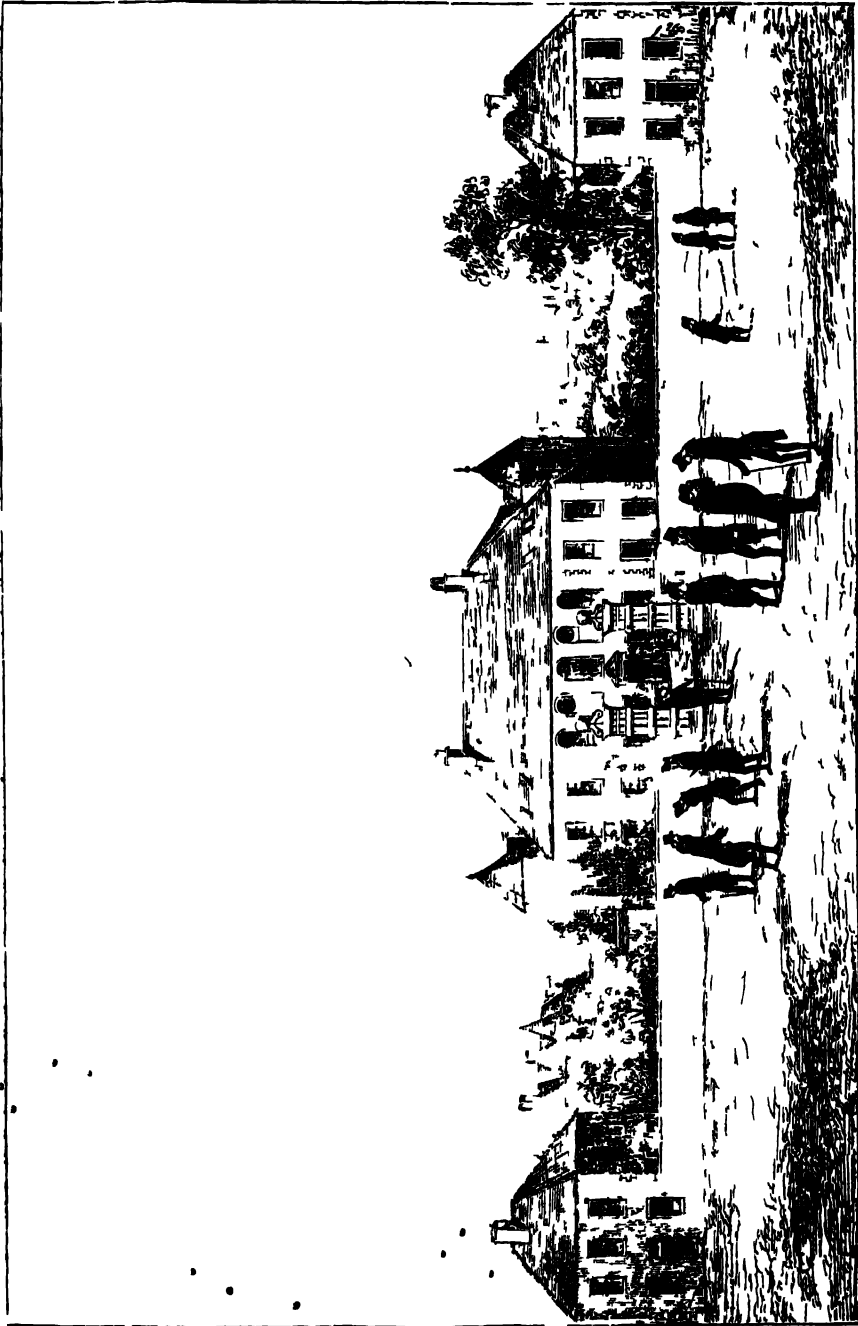
humble edifice in Niddry Street but after a time it was moved to one of the large houses described in Adam Square.

Continued success attended the school from its opening, it had the support of all classes of citizens, particularly those connected with the learned professions the subscription list showing a sum of £450 yearly, and from this the directors, by thrifty management were able to put aside money from time to time as a future building fund.

For the purpose of erecting a memorial in honour of James Watt at Edinburgh, a meeting was held in July, 1824. On the motion of the late Lord Cockburn, seconded by the Solicitor-

instead of erecting a new house, the old one in Adam Square, which had been occupied by the school for nearly thirty years, was purchased, when the accumulated fund amounted to £1700, and the directors adding £800, obtained the house for £2500 after which it took the name of *The Watt Institution and School of Arts*.

In May, 1854, the directors placed a statue of James Watt, on a granite pedestal, in the little square before the school, where both remained till 1871, when the building in Adam Square, which had become too small for the requirements of the institution, was pulled down, with those which adjoined it, to make way for the broad and spacious



OLD SURGEON'S HALL, FROM THE NORTH THE FLODDEN WALL IN THE BACKGROUND  
(From a Drawing by Paul Sandby the Figures are from Kay's "Portraits")



thoroughfare named Chambers Street, to which the school was transferred in the winter of 1873-4.

The new edifice cost £3,000, but the accommodation is more suitable and ample than that of the old. Though for many years the directors adhered to their original plan of confining the subjects of instruction to Chemistry, Natural Philosophy, and Mathematics, in later years, at the request of a number of students, the range of education was greatly enlarged. Hence, classes for English Lan-

guage and Literature were instituted in 1837; for History and Economic Science in 1877; for Physiology in 1863; for French in 1843; German in 1866; Latin in 1874; Botany in 1870; Pitman's Short-hand in 1873; Greek in 1875; Geology in 1872; Biology, Free-hand Drawing, and the Theory of Music, in 1877. In April, 1879, the institution was handed over to the Heriot Trust, as a People's College, at a meeting presided over by the Hon. Lord Shand, a patron of the school.

## CHAPTER XLIX.

### THE PLEASANCE AND ST. LEONARDS.

The Convent of St. Mary—Friends' Burial Place—Old Chirurgeons' Hall—Surgeon Square—"Hamilton's Folly" The Gibbet—Chapel and Hospital of St. Leonard—Davie Deans' Cottage—"The Innocent Railway"—First Public Dispensary

At a period subsequent to the panic after Flodden there was built across the junction of St. Mary's Wynd with the Pleasance, parallel with the south back of the Canongate, an arched barrier named St. Mary's Port. South of this, sixty yards from the south-east angle of the city wall and near the foot of the present Roxburgh Street, stood the convent of St. Mary, which must have been a branch of the Franciscan House of "S. Maria di Campagni," so much patronised by Pope Urban II., in the Parmese city of Placentia—as the latter name was given to the foundation in Edinburgh, long since corrupted into *Pleasance*, though the place was of old called Dearenough. It is unknown by whom or when it was founded, and nothing of it now remains save a fine piece of alabaster carving, representing our Saviour brought before the Jewish high-priest, which was discovered among its ruins, and presented to the Antiquarian Museum in 1781.

The name of Pleasance is borne by the narrow, quaint, and straggling street southward till it joins the other ancient suburb of St. Leonard, of which it seems to have formed a portion, as proved by a charter of Charles I. confirming the magistrates in the superiority of "the town of St. Leonard." In it are many houses, or the basements thereof, that date from the early part of the sixteenth century. St. John's Hill and this now absorbed village occupy the long ridge that overlooks the valley at the base of the Craigs, and the whole of which seems to have been the ecclesiastical property in earlier ages of several foundations, all of which were subject to the Abbots of Holyrood.

On the east side of the street is still a great quadrangular edifice, called Bell's Brewery (long

famous for its ale), which is shown as such in Edgar's Map in 1765, and was nearly consumed by fire in 1794; and near it is still the Friends' meeting-house and burial-ground, in which are interred the Millars of Craigantinie, the Hereditary Master Gardeners to the king. This sect, whose members underwent much persecution in the early part of the eighteenth century, and were often arrested by the town guard for preaching in the streets, and thrust into the Tolbooth, had their first place of worship in Peebles Wynd, where it was built in 1730. "Though it was roofed," says the *Courant* for Septeniber, "there is as yet no window in it, but some merrily observe these people have light within."

On the west side of the Pleasance, and immediately within the south-east angle of the city wall referred to, stood the old Chirurgeons' Hall, in the High School yards. The surgeons and barbers were formed into a corporation by the town-council on the 1st of July, 1505; under the seal of cause, or charter, certain rules were prescribed for the good order of this fraternity. On the 13th of October in the following year James V. ratified this charter; and Queen Mary, says Arnot, "in consideration of the great attendance required of surgeons upon their patients, granted them an exemption from serving upon juries, and from watching and warding within the city of Edinburgh, privileges which were afterwards confirmed by Parliament."

\* On the 25th of February, 1657, the surgeons and apothecaries were, at their request, united into one community.\* This was ratified by Parliament, and from that time the corporation ceased

entirely to act as barbers. In consequence, the council, on the 26th July, 1682, recommended the new corporation to supply the city with a sufficient number of persons qualified "to shave and cut hair," and who should continue to be upon it; but in 1722 it ceased to have all connection with the barbers, save that the latter were obliged to enter all their apprentices in a register kept by the surgeons. By a charter of George III., dated 14th March, 1778, the corporation was erected into "The Royal College of Surgeons of the City of Edinburgh," a document which established a scheme of provision for the widows and children of members.

In the old edifice overlooking the Pleasance the College held all its meetings till the erection of the new hall, to be referred to in its place; but the name of the first establishment still survives in the adjacent Surgeon Square. In it was a theatre for dissection, a museum, in which a mummy was long the chief curiosity, and the hall was hung with portraits of surgeons who had grown to eminence after it was built.

William Smellie, F.R.S. and F.A.S., an eminent printer, and well known as the author of the "Philosophy of Natural History" and the translator of Buffon, was born in one of the quaint old houses of the Pleasance in 1740.

A curious three-storeyed edifice, having a large archway, peaked gables, and dormer windows, bearing the date of 1709, stood on the south side of the Pleasance, and was long known as "Hamilton's Folly," from the name of the proprietor, who was deemed unwise in those days to build "a house so far from the city, and on the way that led to the gibbet on which the bodies of criminals were hung. But the latter would seem to have been in use till a much later period, as in the *Courant* for December, 1761, there are advertised for sale four tenements, "lying at the head of the Pleasance, on the east side of the road leading to the gibbet." Here still stands a goodly house of three storeys, which was built about 1724 by a wealthy tailor, and which in consequence has been denominated "the

Castle of Clouts," in the spirit of that talent which the Scots have of conferring absurd *sobriquets*.

By the wayside to Duddingstone, south of the Pleasance, a rising piece of ground or slight eminence is called Mount Hooley, a corruption of Mount Holy, which marks the site of the chapel of St. Leonard and of a hospital dedicated to the same saint. As is the case with most of the ecclesiastical edifices in Edinburgh, nothing is known as to when or by whom either the chapel or hospital was built, and not a vestige remains of either now.

The chapel, ere it became a ruin, was the scene of a remarkably traitorous tryst, held by the

Douglas faction on the 2nd of February, 1528, having nothing less in view than the assassination of their sovereign, James V., "the Commons King," who was the idol of his people. They were to enter the palace of Holyrood by a window near the head of the king's bed in the night, and under the guidance of Sir James Hamilton, one the monarch loved and trusted much; but the dastardly plot was discovered in time, and by the energetic measures taken to crush the devisers of it, peace



DAVID DEANS' COTTAGE.

(From a vignette by Leitch, published in the First Edition of Robert Chambers's "Traditions of Edinburgh," 1825.)

and good government were secured to Edinburgh for a period.

At St. Leonard's Loan, which bounded the property of the abbots of Holyrood on the south, separating it on the side from the western flank of the vast Burghmuir, there stood in ancient times a memorial known as Umphraville's Cross, erected in memory of some man of rank who perished there in a conflict of which not a memory remains. The cross itself had doubtless been demolished as a relic of idolatry at the Reformation; but in 1810, its base, a mass of dark whinstone, with a square hole in its centre, wherein the shaft had been fixed, was still remaining on the ancient site, till it was broken up for road metal!

In his "Diary," Birrel records that on the 2nd April, 1600, "being the Sabbath-day, Robert Achmuty, barber, slew James Wauchope at the com-

bat in St. Leonard's Hill, and upon the 23rd the said Robert was put in ward in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. In the meantime of his being in ward, he hung a cloak without the window of the Iron House, and another within the window there, and saying that he was sick, and might not see the light, he had aquafortis continually seething at the iron window, while (till) at last the iron was eaten through." Then, one morning, he desired his apprentice-boy to watch when the town guard should be dismissed, and to give him a sign thereof by waving his handkerchief. This was done, and tying "ane tow," or rope, to the window, he was about to lower himself into the street; but the guard "spied the wave of the handkerchief, and saw the said Robert was disappointed of his intention and device." On the 10th of April he was conveyed down to the Market Cross, and there beheaded on the scaffold, by the Maiden probably.

In 1650, when Cromwell's army was repulsed by the Scottish under Leslie, he made an attempt to turn the flank of the latter at this point. "Encircling Arthur's Seat, a strong column of infantry, a brigade of cavalry, and two pieces of cannon attempted to enter the city by the southern road that led from the Pleasance. On this Campbell of Lawers brought his regiment of musketeers at double quick march up the glen by the base of Salisbury Craigs to the ruins of St. Leonard's chapel, and taking an alignment behind the hedges and walls of the King's Park, poured from thence a deadly fire, which drove back the infantry in disorder. They threw aside their muskets, pikes, and collars of bandoliers, and fled, abandoning their cannon, which were brought off by the horse brigade."

St. Leonard's Hill corresponds somewhat in position, but not in contour, with the locality of Davie Deans' story in Sir Walter Scott's "Heart of Midlothian," and an ancient cottage is actually indicated as being his in the Post-office maps. Eastward of this, the ridge of the hill bears the name of Kaim Head, indicating that of old a camp had been there.

St. Leonard's coal dépôt and railway station have destroyed all the old and picturesque amenities of the locality. The station was erected here on the formation of a railway from Edinburgh to Dalkeith in 1826, but the traffic did not begin until

1831. It is still in existence, but has undergone great changes.

To see the train start by successive carriages for Dalkeith was then one of "the sights" of Edinburgh. "Towards the close of its 'horsy' days," says Bremner (in his "Industries of Scotland"), "when railways worked by locomotives became common, this railway, with its lumbering carriages, slow-paced steeds, and noisy officials, was laughed at as an old-fashioned thing; but many persons have pleasant recollections of holiday trips made over the line. Then, as now, people took advantage of the fast days to spend a few hours outside the city, and it was no uncommon thing for the Dalkeith railway to bear away four or five thousand pleasure-seekers on such occasions." No accident ever having occurred on this line, it bears the name of the "Innocent Railway," under which title it appears in one of Robert Chambers's pleasant essays.

St. Leonard's Hill and all its locality are inseparably connected with the boyhood of the celebrated philosopher and phrenologist, George Combe, who spent the summer months of his earlier years with his aunt, Mrs. Margaret Sinclair, whose husband was proprietor of a brewery, a garden, and other ground there.

At the junction of the Pleasance with St. Leonards, an old street, known as the East Cross Causeway branches north-westward. Here was to be found the latest example of the legendary door-head so peculiar to Edinburgh:—"1701 GOD'S PROVIDENCE." It was over the door of a house in which Lady Jane Douglas, wife of Sir John Stewart, of Grandtully, is said to have resided during some of the years of her long-contested peerage case with the Duke of Hamilton; and where she—the sister of the last duke of the grand old Douglas line—was in circumstances so reduced that she was compelled to work at the wash-tub while rocking with her foot the cradle wherein lay her son, who became Lord Douglas of Douglas in 1790.

In this quarter of the city there was founded in West Richmond Street, in 1776, the first public dispensary in Edinburgh, chiefly through the exertions of Andrew Duncan, M.D., whose portrait, painted by Raeburn, now hangs in the hall. The good doctor lived long enough to see his generous labours crowned with complete success.

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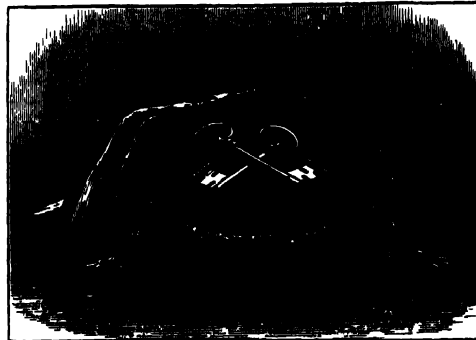
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KEYS OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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PAUL'S WORK.

(The room in which Sir Walter Scott corrected his proofs).